

Asking the Right Questions about Baltimore's
Marginalized African-American Men and Boys

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper considers the difficult situation facing many of Baltimore's marginalized African-American men and boys and the social problems that result. Issues of educational underachievement, delinquency, single parenthood, teen pregnancy, child support, poverty, family instability, drug and alcohol abuse, mental health, social services and law enforcement are implicated. These difficulties are costly to Baltimore economically because they require expensive interventions, they are impediments to productive economic activity and they hinder the city's ability to attract world-class investment. They also exact a price in terms of decreased quality of life for all Baltimoreans, especially insofar as they perpetuate and exacerbate the city's race and class divide.

The paper suggests taking a marketing approach to those marginalized African-American males who do not buy the engaged, productive life the City is, in a manner of speaking, trying to sell them. Our research should be designed to challenge stereotypes and assumptions about who our customers are, what they most deeply want and what they think of our product. Contingent on the results of the research, the paper makes several recommendations for addressing marginalized African-American males' needs.

One of the main assumptions the paper calls into question is the relationship between male employment and male social engagement. Analyzing Baltimore area employment and welfare data from the 1960s and 1970s, the paper calls into question the idea that jobs disappeared before male social engagement started to do the same and that the former was the primary cause of the latter.

If the recommended research indicates a fresh approach to marginalized African-American males is warranted, the paper proposes that the City should establish a small working group under the Deputy Mayor for Human and Community Development. The Baltimore Project for Men and Boys would design, implement and evaluate programs suggested by the findings and by the creative problem-solving new insights might inspire.

BACKGROUND

On multiple important indicators many African-American men and boys are not faring well.^a Black males have the worst school attendance, the worst academic performance, and the most suspensions and expulsions of any group.¹ They are most likely to drop out or fail out of school, most likely to be in jail and least likely to be in college or gainfully employed.² They have the worst health and the shortest lives.³ In 2001, 22 percent of African-American men in their early 30s had prison records; only twelve percent had Bachelors degrees.⁴ Almost a third of the African-American boys born in 2001 will spend at least a year in prison.⁵ The number of Black males who are admitted to mental hospitals is more than double the number for White males or Black females.⁶ In 2004, the male-female suicide ratio among Whites age 20-24 was 5.8 to 1. Among Blacks it was 7.1 to 1.⁷

These problems are important to Baltimore for many reasons. They exacerbate class distinctions and racial tensions. They have a direct adverse effect on the quality of life of many African-American males, and an indirect negative effect on virtually every other citizen, especially African-American women and children. They are costly in terms of the damage they do and in the expenditures we make to address them. For instance, from 1985 to 2004, state spending on jails and prisons grew from \$612 million to \$920 million.⁸ Maryland is spending about \$219 million per year to incarcerate residents of Baltimore City, not including the cost of police, prosecutors, courts and local jails.⁹ Our social discord does incalculable damage to the city's ability to hold itself out to the business world as a desirable place to invest and live.^b

Time and again the literature speaks of the ways in which African-American males are doing

^a By focusing on the problems of marginalized African-American men and boys the author in no way intends to suggest that other males do not face difficulties, nor that all or even most African-American males are in trouble. The author's contention, however, is that the situation of many Black males is particularly severe and that, as a result of racism compounding the effects of sexism against men, certain aspects of African-American male problems are different from other men's and boys' problems not only in degree, but also in kind. Nonetheless, since this paper is fundamentally about sex and gender, with race as a secondary, compounding factor, much of its analysis will be found to apply to men generally.

^b On Wednesday, February 9, 2005, for instance, a front-page headline in the *New York Times* warned, "Baltimore Streets Meaner."

worse than African-American females, yet the problem is attributed to race.^{10, 11, 12} Racial profiling, for instance, is often wryly described as “driving while Black,” but it is also largely “driving while male.”^c Clearly, since African-American men and African-American women are of the same race, racism cannot explain differences between them. At least one of the significant factors working against Black men and boys must be their sex.¹³

Figures 1 through 12 in Appendix A are graphs depicting various problems in which men and boys are over-represented: homicide, suicide, incarceration and dropping out of school.

IT'S NOT JUST THE ECONOMY

Households headed by single African-American females are frequently poor. Nationally in 2005, 45.3 percent of people living in Black female-headed households with related children under 18 lived in poverty.¹⁴ In Baltimore City in 1999, there were 6,276 households headed by single African-American females with children under 5; 45.8 percent of them were impoverished.¹⁵

The usual analysis of the problem is that “the rise of Black female-headed households is rooted in the economic alienation of Black men.”¹⁶ Certainly, men’s employment situation is a major part of the problem.^{17, 18} But that analysis leaves important questions unanswered. “In the 1990s, with the strongest labor market in over 30 years,” a public policy analyst told a Washington symposium in March 2006, “the employment rates of young black men continued to deteriorate while those of young black women were improving quite rapidly... We looked at the 1990s and said, what is continuing to cause this deterioration? With such a strong labor market and crime rates falling, how come the employment rates keep getting worse?”¹⁹ The symposium provided no answer.

Between 1962 and 2004 the number of manufacturing jobs in Baltimore City and Baltimore County declined by more than 125,000²⁰ (see Appendix A, Figure 13). But if we look more closely at

^c In the Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University “African-American Male Survey” in June 2006, 48 percent of Black men and 13 percent of Black women said they had been unfairly stopped by police. <www.kff.org/kaiserpolls/upload/7526.pdf>

the period from 1962 to 1970 (see Appendix A, Figure 14), we see that there was a small net gain in manufacturing jobs in the two jurisdictions. Average manufacturing worker earnings in the area increased over that period from \$6,498 to \$7,028 (1967 dollars).²¹ Northeast US regional median income data for Black men (see Appendix A, Figure 15) lends support to the idea that Baltimore's African-American men were probably sharing in local manufacturing's good fortune.²² Even so, over that same period when Baltimore's blue collar men appear to have been making more and more money, the number of Baltimore City ADC families increased by an estimated 18,200.^{23, d}

This paper therefore argues that the standard cause-effect analysis is incomplete and at least partially reversed, that the economic alienation of Black men is rooted in part in the rise of the Black female-headed household. Once started, the trend feeds on itself, with three factors—employment difficulties, more women creating households without men, growing male alienation—reinforcing each other. This paper suggests that some of the most potent work incentives for men are feeling valued, appreciated and respected. These are the factors that bind men in healthy ways to their families, communities and jobs. They disappear little by little with every family that lays off or never, so to speak, hires a man. This analysis might help to explain why from 1960 to 1984, when the proportion of African-American families headed by women more than doubled from 21 percent to 44 percent,²⁴ the number of Black men over age 16 who were not counted as participating or trying to participate in the labor force nearly tripled from about 900,000 to about 2,500,000.²⁵ In 1960, nearly three-fourths of all black men were working; 24 years later the proportion was 57 percent.²⁶

Along with withdrawing from the workforce, African-American males also grew more involved with violence to self and others. If we look at the recent data for homicide involving Black males

^d The data source did not specifically report the annual numbers of Baltimore City families on ADC. They are estimated here by multiplying each year's number of ADC families reported for all of Maryland by that year's ADC expenditures reported for Baltimore City then dividing by that year's ADC expenditures reported for all of Maryland. Since ADC payments varied by the number of children in an ADC family, a limitation of this estimate is that it assumes the number of children in the average Baltimore City family receiving ADC was the same as the number of children in the average Maryland family receiving ADC.

between the ages of 14 and 24²⁷ (Appendix A, Figures 1, 2 and 3) and suicide committed by African-American males between the ages of 15 and 24²⁸ (Appendix A, Figure 8), we see both peaked in 1994. This was not a time of widespread economic dislocation, as the unemployment data²⁹ in Appendix A, Figure 17 show. Joblessness was at or near its recent averages and was heading lower. But what peaked along with homicide and suicide among young Black men in 1994 was the ratio between the number of Black children living with a single mother and the number of Black children living with two parents³⁰ (Appendix A, Figure 18). Moreover, there are interesting parallels over time, notably in trends of the same three measures in 2002. We might consider the single-mother/two-parent ratio to be a sort of male anomie index, an indication to young men of how reliably they can expect to achieve their socially prescribed role as fathers and family men. In 1994 young Black men had good reason, simply by noticing reality around them, to feel highly anomic.

We must be careful not to make too much of what might be a statistical aberration or the coincidental confluence of other factors. On the other hand, given our lack of progress in solving urban maladies, especially for Black men and boys, we need to be careful not to make too little of it. The greatest importance of the two-parent family might not be its effect on its own children. Instead, its most important function might be in conveying to young men in the community at large that the fatherhood for which we as a society hope they will prepare is a secure position offering a solid, rewarding future.

THE GROWTH IN MALE ROLELESSNESS

The modern women's movement is generally judged to have started in the early 1960s.³¹ Some trace the beginning to the ascendancy of Rosie the Riveter earning a paycheck and contributing importantly to a grand economic effort during World War II.³² One of the many good things the women's movement accomplished was to give girls and women a greater appreciation of their own capa-

bilities. The clever quip, “A woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle,”^e was valuable in empowering girls and women to make their own way in the world. But to the extent that it induced girls and women to think of men as irrelevant and disposable it was unfortunate. An additional factor was the ascendancy of social programs that competed with men for the role of provider. Among African-Americans these factors were especially harmful because Blacks were still recovering from the damage done to their families and male-female relationships by centuries of slavery and decades of Jim Crow.³³ In a manner of speaking, African-American men’s industry in providing partnership to women for family formation was sent into a sharp depression.

ADDRESSING MALE ROLELESSNESS

Since being a financial provider is an important role to which we want young men to aspire and for which we want them to prepare, we should continue—and improve—everything we are doing to help men obtain and keep jobs that pay well. But that has not been and cannot be enough. In the future, as women’s earnings continue to grow, it will be even less sufficient.

The male role needs to adjust to be more compatible with recent changes in women’s roles. Our new strategy must be two-fold. First, simultaneously with doing what we can to improve men’s prospects for paid employment, we should support men’s diversification into other areas of productive activity for which there is less competition, and ideally in which there is a decided shortage of supply. Second, we should address the demand side of the transaction by assisting men in marketing their updated capabilities to women. The first step in developing a new product is to understand the customer’s needs. One of women’s great needs today is to alleviate their overburden with raising children and running households while trying to hold down paying jobs. Men can do that. As women’s movement leader Gloria Steinem has said, “In the last 25 years, we’ve convinced ourselves and a majority of the country that women can do what men can do. Now we have to convince the ma-

^e Gloria Steinem credits Australian journalist Irina Dunn with coining the quip in 1970; the idea pre-existed the turn of phrase. See Letters to the Editor, *Time*, October 9, 2000.

jority of the country—and ourselves—that men can do what women can do.”³⁴

Not only are men able to do it, there are indications they are eager to do at least the child care part of it. A national study of African-American men found that 81 percent would like to spend more time with their children they do not live with.³⁵ In another study, low-income Black fathers “readily identified many rewards of fathering, including feelings of love, warmth and closeness.”³⁶ Even so, machismo will present a hurdle for some men. Understandably, African-American men’s pride and pain have led to insecurities, and hypermasculine posturing is a common result.³⁷ But men have gotten over such insecurities before and have benefited greatly from doing so. Football helmets and forward passes, for instance, were once derided as unmanly.^{38, 39, 40, 41} See Appendix B.

We can expect this redirection of male attention to generate welcome synergies in the raising of our children. Just as women brought much-needed changes to business and corporate life by introducing less hierarchical and more open management styles, we can expect men to enrich family life by applying a male style of nurturance and discipline.⁴² And, as we have discussed, showing boys they have a future in family and community life will help keep them optimistic and engaged.

This undertaking will be neither easy nor quick. We should think in terms of a 30-year project, much like the downtown revitalization launched by Baltimore’s visionary leaders in the 1960s.

Top-Level Recommendation

The City should view its men and boys as customers to whom it is attempting to sell a positive life of civic engagement. Since the City is losing market share to competing lifestyles, the City should conduct a rigorous, scientifically valid survey of its male customers, oversampling those in marginalized African-American communities, to determine how and why the City’s current offerings are failing in the marketplace and to explore what the City might do to win these customers back. The study must be thoughtfully designed and should include outside-the-box questions that explore novel hypotheses and approaches, including those suggested in this paper. The most important purpose

of the study is to identify, challenge and possibly supplant assumptions that are based on stereotypes of marginalized African-American men and boys.

Contingent Recommendations

If, and only if, the results of the study indicate that the City can improve its approach to marginalized males, the City should consider the following contingent recommendations.

1. The City of Baltimore should establish the Baltimore Project for Men and Boys (BPMB) in the office of the Deputy Mayor for Community and Human Development.^f BPMB should be staffed by one full-time person in the role of Project Manager and one full-time person providing administrative support. The function of the Project Manager will be to 1) engage the cooperation of other city employees and agencies, as well as private organizations, community-minded businesses and individual volunteers in projects designed to foster the constructive engagement of Baltimore's men and boys, 2) secure federal, state, local, philanthropic and corporate funding for projects undertaken, and 3) prepare speeches and other communications as required by the Mayor and Deputy Mayor to promote the purposes of BPMB.
2. BPMB should conduct a survey of women to determine their opinions and attitudes about men and male-female relationships, and their suggestions for what men can do to make themselves more marketable as partners in family life. The survey should specifically explore suggestions beyond the economic.

THE SCHOOLS

Schools are powerful influences on the way boys think of themselves and their futures.^{43, 44, 45}

Because they are staffed primarily by women,⁴⁶ especially in elementary schools^{47, 48} where boys form

^f The current Deputy Mayor for Human and Community Development, Salima Siler Marriott, may be ideally suited to serve as BPMB's champion in city government. She has a clearly established reputation for being strong on women's issues and may therefore benefit from the "Nixon in China" effect. Dr. Marriott was the Coordinator of a May 21, 1991 symposium sponsored by the Baltimore Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority at Morgan State University on "The African-American Male as a Nurturer."

their attitudes toward education,^{49, 50} they can inadvertently convey the message that learning is for girls.^{51, 52} Boys start school full of enthusiasm and optimism,⁵³ but their slower development of reading skills⁵⁴—the foundation of learning and the best predictor of school success^{55, 56, 57}—often sets them on a track of frustration, failure and alienation, not just from school but from productive striving of any kind.⁵⁸ Research has shown that teacher biases about boys’ behavior⁵⁹ and their ability to learn⁶⁰ often lead to self-fulfilling prophecies⁶¹ of lower performance and worse behavior. Unfair discipline further alienates young males.⁶² “Acting white” by doing well in school is something boys especially are discouraged from doing.^{63, 64, 65, 66} Since school connectedness is second only to family closeness in keeping boys from drug use, emotional problems and violence,⁶⁷ it is essential that schools do everything they can to engage boys productively. The current trend of male disconnectedness from school is a recent development that can be reversed.⁶⁸

Recommendations

3. BPMB should assist the school system in recruiting men into education, especially in the early and middle school grades when boys often start feeling “disidentified” with school.^{69, 70, g}
4. To parallel programs that address girls’ traditionally lower performance and lower interest in math and science,^{71, h} BPMB should help the schools engage Baltimore’s newspaper, book, web and other publishers, as well as the area’s schools of journalism and writing, in programs that involve boys in the fun and power of the written word.
5. BPMB should help the school system develop in-service and CEU programs for teachers to instruct them in the psychology of boys, how to recognize and overcome biases against boys

^g Resources include: 1) “Call Me Mister” <www.callmemister.clemson.edu>, a college-based effort enlisting African-American men to teach, 2) the Associate of Arts in Teaching program <mdk16.usmd.edu/inside.php?area_id=69> and 3) the US Army’s Troops to Teachers program <www.proudtoserveagain.com/>.

^h Girls’ Introduction to Engineering <www.jhu.edu/news_info/news/home05/dec05/middle.html>; Computer Mania <www.umbc.edu/cwit/computer_mania.html>; UM Women in Engineering <www.eng.umd.edu/wie/precollege/keys.html>; Goddard Space Flight Center <education.gsfc.nasa.gov/pages/sister.html>; UM Department of Physics Summer Girls <www.physics.umd.edu/outreach/summgirls.html>; UM College of Computer, Mathematical and Physical Sciences <www.cmps.umd.edu/stand/precollegeprograms.htm>. All accessed on February 26, 2007.

and how to discipline boys effectively and fairly. The instruction should cover boys' strong adherence to restrictive gender schema⁷² and what teachers can do to help them overcome it.

6. BPMB should help the city schools and the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE) cooperate on MSDE's 2006 Report on the Education of African-American Males.ⁱ
7. BPMB should help the schools develop a Student Bill of Rights to address "the belief among many Black male students that they are treated unfairly in school."⁷³ (See Appendix C.)
8. Because father involvement has been shown to improve student performance,^{74, 75} BPMB should assist the school system and individual schools in evaluating themselves according to the Father Friendly Checkup for Schools^j developed by the National Fatherhood Initiative.

JUVENILE JUSTICE PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

Research indicates that the youth delinquency risk factors of poverty and race are strongly mediated by a young person's sex.⁷⁶ The federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention recognizes the value of gender-specific services for at-risk youth.^{77, 78} Gender-specific services are statutorily defined as services that address the unique needs of the individual recipient's gender,⁷⁹ but in practice they almost always mean services that are designed specifically for girls.⁸⁰ "Of course, boys have gender, too," one researcher noted. "However, this fact is often neglected."⁸¹

That neglect is unfortunate. Research suggests, for instance, that boys feel a gender-related need to fashion a face-saving explanation for refusing an invitation to do drugs, while a girl can acceptably state a simple 'no.'⁸² The National Institute on Drug Abuse concluded that gender-specific prevention programs could reduce drug use by both males and females.⁸³

Gender-based programs should consider gender factors as influences that can be changed or

ⁱ The January 27, 2007 Report of Mayor Dixon's Transition Team made 46 recommendations concerning education (21 concerning the Baltimore City Public School System, 21 concerning colleges and universities and four concerning Baltimore City Community College) but made no mention of the MSDE report or its recommendations on African-American male achievement, nor any mention at all of the male lag in academic performance. Accessed from <www.baltimorecity.gov/mayor/> on January 30, 2007.

^j <www.fatherhood.org/BeginSurveySchool.asp?sid=3>

minimized by challenging gender norms and establishing a balance of power between girls and boys.⁸⁴ The approach involves helping girls and boys understand how they have been socialized into restrictive sex-labeled roles.⁸⁵ Perhaps it is precisely our ambivalence about letting boys challenge our expectations of them that keeps us from instituting programs that invite them to do so. The juvenile justice system has never resolved whether its purpose is to help young people become personally stronger, more whole and more autonomous or whether its purpose is to induce young people to adjust to social demands.⁸⁶ Noted psychologist William Pollack, who specializes in treating boys and young men, suggests that boys' acting-out behavior may be a "protest against being fitted for the emotionally limiting gender straitjacket that awaits them."⁸⁷

The growth rate in female delinquency is higher than for males but between 1985 and 2002 many more boys (267,100) than girls (202,500) were newly involved with the juvenile justice system.^{88, 89, 90} One hypothesis is that illegal behavior has become yet another respectable option for girls, while for boys it remains a heavily peer-pressured expectation. Much more than we needed to give girls the option of getting into illegality respectably, we need to give boys a respectable option for getting out.

Recommendation

9. BPMB should assist Baltimore's juvenile justice and juvenile services agencies in developing gender-specific programming for boys.

FATHERHOOD

If there is an arena in which it will be difficult for women to meet Gloria Steinem's challenge mentioned above, it may be the realm of parenting.⁹¹ The task may be especially difficult for some African-American women because of their "unusually strong valorization of motherhood."⁹² Research of underprivileged women finds them talking candidly about wanting "the power to evict fathers if they interfere with child rearing."⁹³ Other studies have detected a strong reluctance among

some mothers about giving up control over the domain of parenthood.^{94, 95, 96}

It is interesting to note that children generally fare better in father-only custody than in mother-only custody.⁹⁷ The reasons for this are uncertain, but one factor may be that fathers are more likely than mothers to promote the child's relationship with the other parent.⁹⁸ Mothers are nearly five times more likely to disparage fathers than are fathers to disparage mothers⁹⁹ and research indicates that between 25 and 50 percent of mothers may interfere with paternal access/visitation.^{100, 101}

One of the strongest predictors of frequent father involvement is a high appreciation on the part of the mother that fathers are important.¹⁰² The need for educating mothers on this point may be indicated. Research has found that when men do not live with their children they often feel they are no longer "full-fledged fathers"¹⁰³ and they often need to be affirmatively invited to maintain relationships with their children, especially if having no job makes them feel worthless.^{104, 105} Mothers may serve their children well by actively requesting, even demanding, the participation of the father regardless of his economic circumstance.¹⁰⁶

Though some women might be uncomfortable with men shifting their role from a primary focus on making money,^k we can promise at least one concrete benefit: women who embrace egalitarian views of male-female partnerships spend about five fewer hours per week on family work than do women who cling to the idea that they must be dominant in home and family matters.¹⁰⁷

Recommendation

10. BPMB should assist Baltimore's agencies, partners and service providers in developing and promoting programs that help mothers understand, appreciate, welcome and encourage men's non-financial contributions to family life.¹⁰⁸

^k The 1980 version of the NOW PEER (Project on Equal Education Rights) Report observed how good it would be if "a man could quit a job he hated and take time off to retool, counting on his wife's salary to provide a psychic and financial safety net." In the 1981 update of the PEER Report that male-friendly sentiment had been deleted.

TEEN PREGNANCY PREVENTION

Baltimore is home to a national organization that targets teen pregnancy. Campaign for Our Children (CFOC) famously gave us billboards showing a rooster in tennis shoes with the caption, “What do you call a man who makes a baby and then flies the coop?” To its credit, CFOC also produced a series of posters with a more positive message: “Every child deserves a father. Establish paternity. The rewards last a lifetime.” But a significant thrust of CFOC’s social marketing runs counter to the consensus of program directors whose programs were included in a nationwide study of how to involve boys in combating teen pregnancy. They expressed regret that male involvement in teen pregnancy is often addressed in terms of “blame and irresponsibility.”¹⁰⁹

Perhaps the clearest example of CFOC’s negativity toward males is the radio public service announcement (PSA) it produced for Maryland’s Department of Health and Mental Hygiene to run on Orioles baseball broadcasts during the 2006 season. About teenage pregnancy the PSA states “some men and boys might not even think it’s a problem.” That may be true, but it may also be true of some women and girls, yet their possible lack of concern is not acknowledged. Worse, the PSA has a deep male voice interjecting an orgasmic “aaahhh” in the background just as men and boys are criticized for their supposed lack of care.¹ (Contrary to the stereotypes about males having no interest in contraception, research has found “overwhelming evidence” that they have played an “extremely important” role in providing contraception to teenage females.¹¹⁰) The contrast between CFOC’s “Pink” and “Wait” TV spots is similarly noteworthy in that the former seeks to empower girls¹¹¹ and the latter is about restricting and controlling boys.^m

It is true that Maryland has made great strides against teen pregnancy. In 1988 the state ranked 46 out of 51 in the rate of pregnancies to women under age 20.¹¹² By 2000 Maryland had improved

¹ Under the Fair Use doctrine, (U.S. Code, Title 17, Chapter 1, Section 107) the author has made the PSA available for listening at <www.youtube.com/user/alias4abell>.

^m The “Pink” and “Wait” PSAs can be viewed at the CFOC website <www.cfoc.org/CFOCTVSpots/>.

to number 38. It is unclear how much credit CFOC can take for that or how its materials have affected the progress of other states where they are used. It is possible that CFOC's messages have had a depressive effect on teen pregnancy—and at the same time have contributed, through their negativity about boys and young men, to the persistence and growth of other problems involving the same population.

Recommendations

11. BPMB's market survey should research the effect CFOC's messages have had on young males in attitudes and behaviors not directly related to teen pregnancy.ⁿ
12. BPMB should seek partnerships with Baltimore creative agencies to design and test messages that respect both sexes and acknowledge that some girls, as much as some boys, enjoy sex.^o

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

Some men resist paying child support at least in part because they resent being treated as if they are valuable only for their money. Specifically in Maryland, research has shown that child support collection is adversely affected by fathers' perceptions of poor treatment.^{113, p. q} A man earning very little and thereby confounding efforts to extract money from him may be analogous to the anorexic woman eating very little so she can assert control over at least one aspect of her life.¹¹⁴ This theory, which our recommended survey of men should investigate, may help explain why Responsible Fatherhood efforts, whose primary purpose has been to help men earn money to reimburse the gov-

ⁿ The author made three unsuccessful attempts (an email message on January 2, 2007, a second email message on February 2, 2007 and a phone message on February 2, 2007) to reach the head of CFOC to inquire in detail about how CFOC's messages are tested and who is invited to be in CFOC's focus groups.

^o A good example in this regard is the Boyz2Dads User Guide from the National Fatherhood Initiative. It is "designed to help prepare teen boys to be involved, responsible, committed fathers when the time is right." Admirably, it acknowledges the possibility of "the girlfriend's desire to have sex" and it addresses what a boy can do "when the girlfriend initiates activity that could lead to sex." See <www.fatherhood.org/boyz2dads/>.

^p CSE in Maryland often disregards the needs of fathers: "You can obtain information about your Child Support case by calling our interactive voice response (telephone) system... To use the system you must have your 9 digit Child Support Case Number. You can find the Child Support Case Number on your check." [Non-custodial parents, of course, do not get checks.] Retrieved from <www.dhr.state.md.us/csea/contact.htm> on December 14, 2006.

^q The paternity establishment discussion at <www.dhr.state.md.us/csea/pat.htm> is written entirely to women as if only women might want to establish paternity; men are referenced only in third person.

ernment for its welfare expenditures, have generated disappointing results. Twenty million dollars invested by the Ford Foundation and others in the late 1990s resulted in only 500 fathers landing jobs—and it is unknown how long those men stayed employed.¹¹⁵

It is a principle of child support enforcement (CSE) that a father's obligation to pay child support and his right to see his child are two separate issues. Treating them as separate may be justifiable, but treating them as unequal is not. The father's obligation to pay money is enforced; his right to see his child seldom is. Such disinterest in fathers does little to secure their cooperation.

Nationally, the CSE system portrays itself as cost-effective by taking credit for collecting money that is and always was paid reliably from noncustodial parents directly to custodial parents before CSE injected itself into the process.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, CSE is now widely seen in policy circles as “a failure of the social policy apparatus to... [create] a rational policy toward fatherhood.”¹¹⁷ Criticism centers on the ways the current system saddles men with crushing arrearages and drives them into the underground economy where their wages cannot be confiscated.^{118, 119} The arrearages arise from unrealistic estimates of what a father can earn,^{120, 121} from inflexibility in modifying support orders when, for instance, a father is incarcerated, and from the Bradley Amendment,^r a federal statute that forbids judges from making reasonable adjustments to unreasonable arrearages. Another negative consequence of current CSE measures is that they cause many young men who might benefit from social services to be leery and distrustful of the agencies that can deliver them.¹²²

While tough measures against fathers were spurred by popular media reports of profligate “deadbeat dads,” the reality is often at odds with this stereotype. In Baltimore in 1999, 70 percent of the fathers owing child support in Baltimore earned less than \$20,000 a year.¹²³ Clearly, a major re-vamping of the CSE strategy must be part of any comprehensive plan to re-engage with Baltimore's marginalized males. It may be time to admit that our stereotypes of young African-American men

^r US Code Title IV-D (42 U.S.C. § 666(a)(9)(c))

blinded us to the realities of why many children are born with little concern from males or females over whether the children will have committed, capable fathers. We may have scapegoated young men for our fault in allowing the culture to develop father-unfriendly forces much more powerful than we can reasonably expect young men to overcome on their own.

Recommendations

13. BPMB should help CSE officials develop an easy way for fathers to file for a modification of child support when their situations change so they can avoid accumulating arrearages they will never be able to repay.^{124, s}
14. BPMB should assist child support officials in establishing the guidelines and procedures for a part-time social worker to help Baltimore's non-custodial parents resolve access/visitation problems.^{t, u} If necessary, BPMB should assist in securing funding for the position.
15. BPMB should assist Baltimore's congressional delegation in sparking a national reevaluation of CSE policy by proposing the repeal of the Bradley Amendment.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Though this paper argues that money is not the most essential missing ingredient in the lives of marginalized African-American men, the author appreciates that it is still of great importance and will remain so until—and even after—men achieve equality in non-economic roles. Indeed, one African-American social worker has written that money is the “feeling focus point” for African-

^s The current form is nine pages long and may be daunting to the average noncustodial father seeking a modification of his child support order because he is being incarcerated. Form available at <www.dhr.state.md.us/csea/forms.htm>.

^t In the 1980s Prince Georges County employed social worker Rita Gunn in this capacity. In 1986, she said that she was often able to resolve visitation/access problems easily and efficiently and that she could not understand why every jurisdiction did not provide such a service to noncustodial parents. Interviewed November 20, 1986, WCVT-FM (now WTMD-FM), Towson, Maryland.

^u The Fatherhood Maryland website <www.fatherhoodmd.org/fh_focus.htm> indicates a link to an organization that helps Baltimore fathers with access/visitation problems. On February 2, 2007 the link was incorrect, linking to a totally unrelated business, and the organization's physical address was also wrong, but the author's email correspondence with the organization on February 2 and February 5, 2007 indicates the service does not exist in any event. Moreover, here is the latest News entry at www.fatherhoodmd.org/news.htm as of February 22, 2007: “10/11/2002: Fatherhood Alert! The fatherhoodmd website is changing to serve you better. Please log on soon to see our new and exciting features and information on how we can help you.”

American men.¹²⁵ The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) has been successful in encouraging mothers to work outside the home, but the program ignores noncustodial fathers.^{126, 127, 128}

Recommendations

16. BPMB should work with Baltimore's congressional delegation to pass legislation extending the federal EITC to noncustodial parents who pay child support.
17. BPMB should work with Baltimore's delegation in Annapolis to extend the state EITC to noncustodial parents who pay child support, as New York has done.^v

MALE-FEMALE RELATIONS

After observing the facts of slavery, Jim Crow and stressors that continue to operate against African-Americans today, Patterson¹²⁹ is joined by others^{130, 131, 132, 133, 134} in noting the high level of friction in African-American male-female relations and the pressing need to address it forthrightly. Unfortunately, says Patterson, "the most common response among Afro-Americans to this tragedy has been to sweep the problem under the rug with talk about not washing dirty linen in public."^{135, w}

One of the keys to improving male-female relations may be simply to improve communication between the sexes. The literature indicates that men may need help in speaking up in calm and measured ways and women may need help in listening openly.^{136, 137, 138} In particular, research has shown that men's anxiety is greater than women's in discussions of relationship conflict.¹³⁹

Recommendation

18. BPMB should test "Men Are Talking," a public event format developed by a small, short-lived nonprofit organization in 1991 to promote male-female communication. A demonstration at

^v For New York State's filing instructions and chart showing the schedule of EITC noncustodial parents can receive, see <www.tax.state.ny.us/pdf/2006/inc/it209i_2006.pdf>.

^w Undeterred, Patterson anticipates the charge and defends himself against it by quoting Emma Coleman Jordan: "The 'dirty linen' charge has special irony because it depends upon an absolute prohibition against violating the pseudo-intrafamilial expectation of private conversations about sensitive matters. But this dysfunctional pseudo-family doesn't talk about the taboo subject in private either." Jordan, Emma Coleman (1995). "The Power of False Racial Memory and the Metaphor of Lynching" In *Race, Gender and Power in America: The Legacy of the Thomas-Hill Hearings*. Anita Faye Hill and Emma Coleman Jordan (Eds.). New York: Oxford University Press. p. 47.

Morgan State University yielded promising results. See Appendix D.

DRUG TREATMENT

The male rate of illicit use of virtually any drug is nearly twice the female rate (8.1 percent vs. 4.2 percent).¹⁴⁰ Among young adults 18 to 25 years of age, 26.3 percent of males and 15.7 percent of females are dependent on or abusing alcohol or an illicit drug—a male-female ratio of about 1.7 to 1. For ages 26 and older, the ratio is 2 to 1. Above age 50, it is more than 3 to 1.¹⁴¹ The 1996 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse found that male users of heroin outnumbered females by 3 to 1.¹⁴² Men feeling rageful often choose opiates, men who are depressed may opt for stimulants, and men whose emotions are scarred by years of abuse may find alcohol and sedatives to be soothing.¹⁴³ Some drugs are used by addicts not to numb their pain, but to alleviate the numbness, to allow them to feel at least something.¹⁴⁴

On January 12, 2006 Baltimore Substance Abuse Systems Inc. hosted a presentation by Peter Bell, a Minneapolis-based, nationally recognized expert on multicultural awareness and cultural sensitivity in drug treatment. The presentation focused on the significance of race, though Mr. Bell's organization provides a program that focuses on women as well.^x

A year after attending Peter Bell's presentation, the author wrote to Mr. Bell and suggested that there might be parallels between what he said about the need for race-specific drug therapy and the possible need of gender-specific interventions for men. Mr. Bell acknowledged that the idea is worth testing and researching. See Appendix E.

Most studies of parents in drug treatment have looked exclusively at mothers,¹⁴⁵ but some research has touched on fathers. Researchers found that addicted fathers who were highly involved with their children suffered lower levels of addiction than fathers who were less involved. The re-

^x "The Women's Aftercare and Relapse Prevention Program of African-American Family Services (AAFS) is designed to help women decrease the rate of relapse, and gain a greater awareness and understanding about the disease of addiction, recovery and relapse. Services Provided: A culturally specific women's lecture education series [and] gender-specific programming." <www.aafs.net/ibca/aftercare.htm>

searchers concluded that drug treatment programs should encourage positive relationships of parents with their children, and should look for ways to improve those of less-involved parents.¹⁴⁶ The research itself was gender-neutral, but implementing the conclusion will require gender-specific strategies since fathers' barriers to parental relationships are often different in kind and degree from women's.

Recommendation

19. BPMB should work with Baltimore Substance Abuse Systems (BSAS) to develop and evaluate models of male-specific drug treatment and promote their adoption to the extent they are found helpful. BPMB should work with BSAS and the city's congressional delegation to secure federal funding for program design and evaluation.

MENTAL HEALTH

Even as babies, boys display an inherent capacity for empathy, including the impulse to help others in pain.¹⁴⁷ But by the age of seven, boys begin to lose touch with their own emotions because they are learning they need to “toughen up” in a way that can lead directly to violence.¹⁴⁸ Black male children are treated more harshly by their parents and teachers, and treated less favorably by nearly every American institution.¹⁴⁹ Emotional problems, especially depression, inevitably arise, despite—or perhaps precisely because—the culture demands that boys must never show any signs of distress or needing help.¹⁵⁰ Boys are required to be far more gender schematic than are girls.^{151, 152} Many African-American boys live in special dread of being seen as weak, for to be seen as weak is to invite taunts, threats, bullying and violence.¹⁵³

Because they feel they must demonstrate toughness to survive, marginalized African-American boys especially need help expanding emotional and behavioral repertoires to include all good options as needed, even those needlessly labeled feminine.¹⁵⁴ Psychotherapist Terrence Real, who specializes in male depression, observes, “It is clear that the ratio of women in therapy and men in pris-

on has something to teach us about the ways in which each sex is taught by our culture to handle pain.”¹⁵⁵ Depression is especially important to diagnose because it is common, it is treatable and in boys it is associated with sexual promiscuity, substance abuse and oppositional defiance.^{156, 157} Former Baltimore Health Commissioner Peter Beilenson said depression in young men makes a “big difference” in the city’s crime problems.¹⁵⁸ It is generally agreed that very little is known about the mental health needs of young male offenders,¹⁵⁹ but we do know that simply showing a boy empathy can help lift his depression.^{160, 161}

Some studies show marginalized African-American boys report high self-esteem,¹⁶² but these should be interpreted with caution.¹⁶³ Psychologist William Pollack has checked male self-esteem self-reports for “false positives.” He found that false reporting is common and increases as boys grow older, revealing a widening gap between what a boy feels he should be and what he actually is,¹⁶⁴ practically a textbook definition of low self-esteem.

Another problem that might be under-recognized in African-American boys is a history of being sexually abused. The problem is common^{165, 166} and is not peculiar to African-Americans, but the fact that sexual abuse has been addressed as a girls’ issue may limit the willingness of highly gender schematic African-American boys to acknowledge when it happens to them and to seek help for its negative emotional effects.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, a popular Black-oriented magazine reminds us that the problem may be more common for African-Americans because “young Black boys are being abused and assaulted in foster homes, government-run prisons and detention centers in a shocking national problem that nobody talks about.”¹⁶⁸ Childhood sexual abuse significantly increases the risk of adult problems and the increased risk is about the same for men and women.¹⁶⁹

Suicide may be the clearest indicator of emotional distress.¹⁷⁰ Until 1994, the Black male suicide rate was rising and Black males were the only group in an upward trend.¹⁷¹ The rate is declining slowly, though for Blacks 15-24 suicide is still 5.6 times more common among males than females,

not counting the untold numbers of suicides instigated by young men wanting to go out in a “manly” hail of bullets from police or rivals.¹⁷² For African-Americans of all ages, males are about five times more likely than females to kill themselves.¹⁷³ (See Appendix A, Figures 7, 8 and 9.)

Recommendation

20. BPMB should verify that sufficient capacity exists to serve an increase in men and boys seeking mental health services. Then, when willing and able providers have been identified and briefed, BPMB should launch a social marketing campaign that invites men and boys to acknowledge emotional difficulties and seek help in dealing with them.

SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Social workers have a profound impact on the health of the city. Their opinions, judgments and recommendations determine questions of parenting, child custody, family breakup and reunification, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, school counseling and discipline, criminal sentencing, and eligibility for public benefits among others. The National Association of Social Workers voices a strong commitment to diversity.¹⁷⁴ Especially since men are involved in so many ways in so many of the problems social workers try to address, it is anomalous that the lack of gender diversity in the profession of social work is not identified as major problem requiring focused and committed attention. Nationally, only nine percent of social workers under the age of 35 are male and the trend is worsening.¹⁷⁵ At the University of Maryland School of Social Work (UM SSW), the student body is twelve percent male.¹⁷⁶ (To its credit, the UM SSW admissions committee is considering what might be done to move that number upward.¹⁷⁷) The Masters program at Morgan’s Department of Social Work is less than seven percent male.¹⁷⁸

Women are the majority of social work clients.¹⁷⁹ We should be careful not to conclude from this fact that men do not need to be social work clients and we should consider the possibility that something about social work and social workers might be keeping them away. Aside from the lack

of male practitioners, there are other reasons to be concerned that social work might be conveying that men are unwelcome. Thirty years ago, in a controlled experiment exposing social workers to written cases in which the fictional client's gender was the only variable, the workers judged female clients to be superior to males. They found females to be more intelligent, more emotionally mature, more suitable for a permissive type of treatment and more desirable as clients than males.¹⁸⁰ In 1990, a journal article co-authored by UM SSW professor Geoffrey Greif asked, "Where are the fathers in social work literature?"¹⁸¹

Perhaps the most crucial area of social work practice for conveying and reinforcing to men their value in the community is in child protective services.¹⁸² The new "kinship care" foster care programs often ignore fathers as resources for children removed from abusive or neglectful homes,¹⁸³ and fathers have reported being angry over the fact that other relatives, but not they, are allowed weekend and unsupervised visits with their children in foster care.¹⁸⁴ In 2001, the National Family Preservation Network studied how child welfare practitioners engage or fail to engage fathers. The results show that child welfare workers are aware that the system is geared toward mothers and mothers' extended families, generally ignoring fathers and fathers' kin. Some also acknowledged wanting to avoid their own "issues" with men.¹⁸⁵

The National Child Welfare Resource Center for Family-Centered Practice, an agency of the US Department of HHS Administration for Children & Families, dealt with antimale biases in a report issued in 2002.¹⁸⁶ It acknowledged the attitude that "Dads don't matter" and "Men are inept parents"¹⁸⁷ is pervasive in human services. It suggested that "family-centered practice" too often means "mother-and-child-centered practice."¹⁸⁸ Moreover, it said, "To address [the] absence of fathers, with the goal of creating greater accountability and responsibility on all sides, we need to begin with this cornerstone fact: fathers and men are excluded within the policy, programs and practice of child welfare."¹⁸⁹

US Senator Barbara Mikulski began her career as a social worker. She reminds us, “We may have values that are people-directed and egalitarian. Or, we may have values that are elitist, racist and sexist. What we need to do is confront our values and really ask ourselves what they are.”¹⁹⁰

Recommendations

21. BPMB should assist Baltimore DSS in an audit of its policies, training, practices and culture in its dealings with fathers. The audit should use the Father Friendly Checkup for Social Services^y developed by the National Fatherhood Initiative.
22. BPMB should facilitate communication among Baltimore DSS, the National Family Preservation Network (NFPN) and others to consider adopting, at least in part, the NFPN staff training curriculum on involving fathers in social work practice.^z If DSS chooses to adopt the curriculum, BPMB should assist with securing funding.
23. BPMB should collaborate with UM SSW and Morgan’s Department of Social Work in developing campaigns to attract more men to the field of Social Work.
24. BPMB should help the local schools of social work in developing courses that prepare social workers for dealing with men in insightful, empathic, unbiased, positive and effective ways.

BALTIMORE CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

Police officers are not social workers, but they have the power to profoundly affect the social health of communities. Concern has grown in Baltimore in recent years over the destabilizing effect that mass arrest policies can have on neighborhoods.¹⁹¹ Macro analyses of communities where many men have been sent to jail have likened the impact to “the acute effects of disasters and war.”¹⁹² Ironically, mass arrest can worsen crime by destroying the social cohesion that is the most significant factor, much more important than outside law enforcement,¹⁹³ in keeping a lid on crime and other bad behavior.^{194, 195}

^y <www.fatherhood.org/BeginSurvey3.asp?sid=3>

^z <www.nfpn.org/fatherhood/>

Along with social cohesion, sociologists refer to collective efficacy as an informal means by which healthy neighborhoods maintain order. When men return to their neighborhoods from prison, their feeling of really belonging in the neighborhood, and therefore contributing to its collective efficacy, can be seriously, even irreparably damaged.¹⁹⁶ Another mechanism by which mass arrests can be harmful is in the fact that the single greatest impediment to finding employment is having spent time in prison.¹⁹⁷ Employment problems make men less marriageable, which spurs the growth in female-headed households. This in turn generates a further lack of collectively efficacious men. Without such men the neighborhood has a diminished capacity to provide boundaries and control for the neighborhood's young males and no way to demonstrate to them a model of happy, successful male adulthood that is attractive enough for them to want and to work for.

Under healthy circumstances, then, men provide communities with benefits that are not based on how much money they have. Even controlling for race, income, and education, most children living with both parents are better off than those living with one.¹⁹⁸ Children in fatherless homes generally have worse outcomes of behavior and rule compliance, ability to focus, school attendance and school achievement, ability to defer gratification, early sexuality, drugs, general cynicism, violence, vandalism and suicide. These problems of fatherlessness are more acute in boys than in girls.¹⁹⁹ A 26-year longitudinal study published in 1990 found that the best predictor that a child will display empathy in adulthood is the amount of time that child spent with his or her father.²⁰⁰ There may be no precise term that conveys what men do for children and communities, but we should respect it and foster it. Ideally, the police department should look for ways to maximize that power so it can accomplish its job with lower levels of external coercion and control.

On January 16, 2007, Baltimore buried slain police detective Troy Chesley, Sr. At the funeral, Police Commissioner Leonard Hamm said, "Believe it or not, our loss of Troy has presented every Baltimore resident with a great opportunity, the opportunity to address the violence in our city in a

more open and honest way than has ever been addressed in the past. The time for placing blame is over. The time for doing something about it is upon us.”^{201, 202}

Recommendations

25. BPMB should work with the Baltimore City Police Department to develop a new statistical indicator and promote its understanding and acceptance by the public. Rather than looking only at current crime and arrest figures, the new metric should include a measure of family and community disruption resulting from police activity, so that the likely long-term effects of police activity are captured and presented for consideration. Public acceptance of the index as an important indicator of police effectiveness will allow and encourage the police to pursue strategies that are optimal for fighting crime in the long-run.
26. BPMB should work with the Police Department to develop a program to foster and activate men’s collective efficacy in their neighborhoods. The program will seek to have men non-aggressively assert their presence as a positive force in the public space of their communities.

CONCLUSION

Fifty years ago an important question few bothered to address was why women earned so much less money than men. Today a question that begs for attention is why men are so much more likely to go to jail than women. If we can do for men and boys even half of what we have done for women and girls to challenge false assumptions and create new options for them to live constructive lives, Baltimore will be a much healthier city than it is today. Thorough, scientifically valid research may reveal that marginalized African-American men and boys are in need of a major new initiative. The research may guide us to treat them not as one of Baltimore’s most intractable problems but as one of Baltimore’s most promising solutions. The Baltimore Project for Men and Boys would be an effective mechanism for implementing ideas suggested by the research.

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APPENDIX A: CHARTS

- Figure 1: US Homicide Perpetrators Age 14-17 by Race and Sex, 1976-2006
- Figure 2: US Homicide Perpetrators Age 18-24 by Race and Sex, 1976-2006
- Figure 3: US Homicide Victims Age 15-24 by Race and Sex, 1981-2004
- Figure 4: US Homicide Victims by Age, Race and Sex, 2004
- Figure 5: Maryland Homicide Victims by Age, Race and Sex, 2004
- Figure 6: Baltimore City Homicide Victims by Race and Sex, 1985-2004
- Figure 7: US Suicides by Age, Race and Sex, 2004
- Figure 8: US Suicides Age 15-24 by Race and Sex, 1981-2004
- Figure 9: US Suicides All Ages by Race and Sex, 1981-2004
- Figure 10: Incarceration in US State and Federal Prisons by Age, Race and Sex, 2004
- Figure 11: Baltimore City Public High School Graduations by Race and Sex, 2002-2006
- Figure 12: Baltimore City Public High School Dropouts by Race and Sex, 1993-2006
- Figure 13: Cumulative Manufacturing Jobs Lost in Baltimore City and Baltimore County and Cumulative ADC/AFDC Families and Children Added in Baltimore City, 1962-1995
- Figure 14: Cumulative Manufacturing Jobs Lost in Baltimore City and Baltimore County and Cumulative ADC/AFDC Families and Children Added in Baltimore City, 1962-1972
- Figure 15: Median Income for Black Men by Region (2005 Dollars), 1961-1971
- Figure 16: US Welfare, Population and Manufacturing Job Trends Using 1960 as Baseline, 1960-1999
- Figure 17: US Unemployment by Race and Sex, 1972-2004
- Figure 18: Living Arrangements of US Children Under 18 by Race, 1968-2005

FIGURE 1

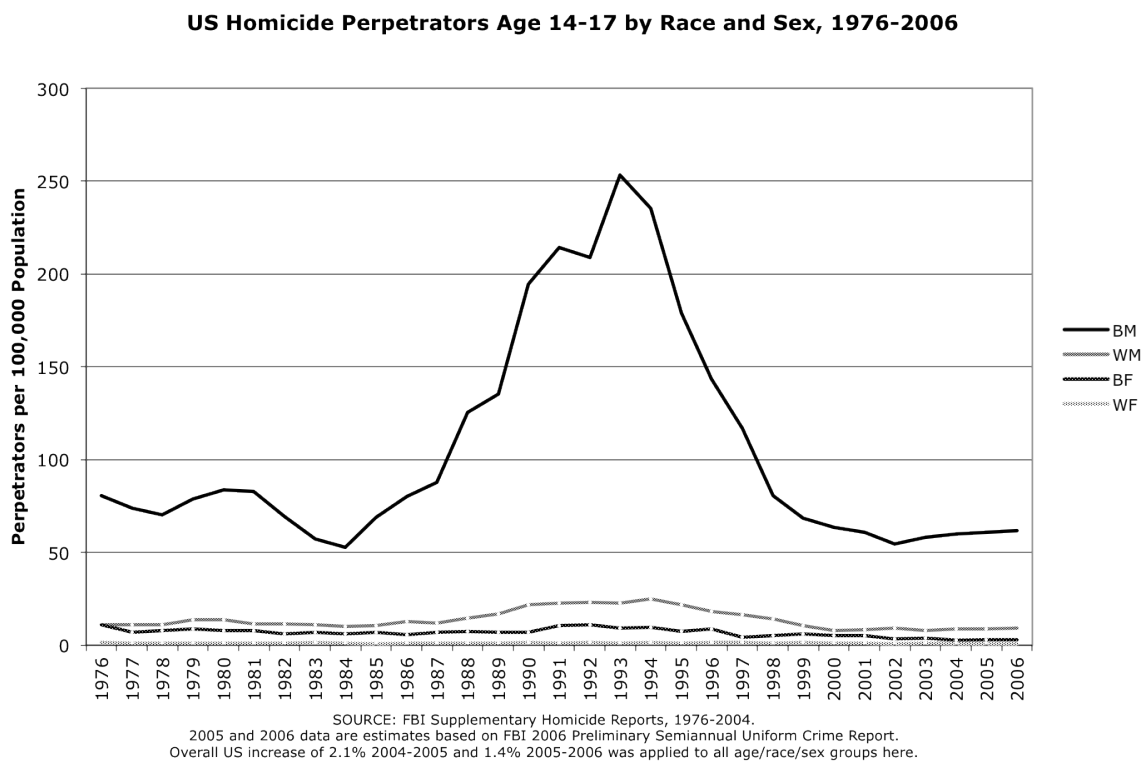


FIGURE 2

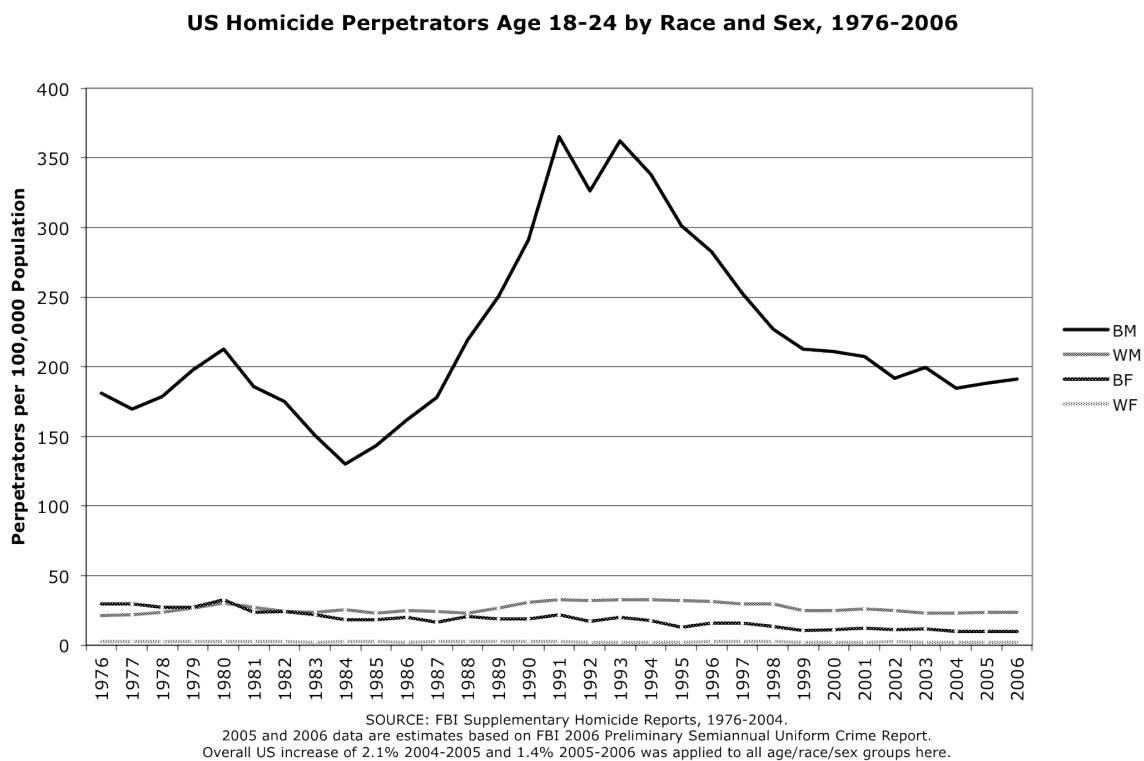


FIGURE 3

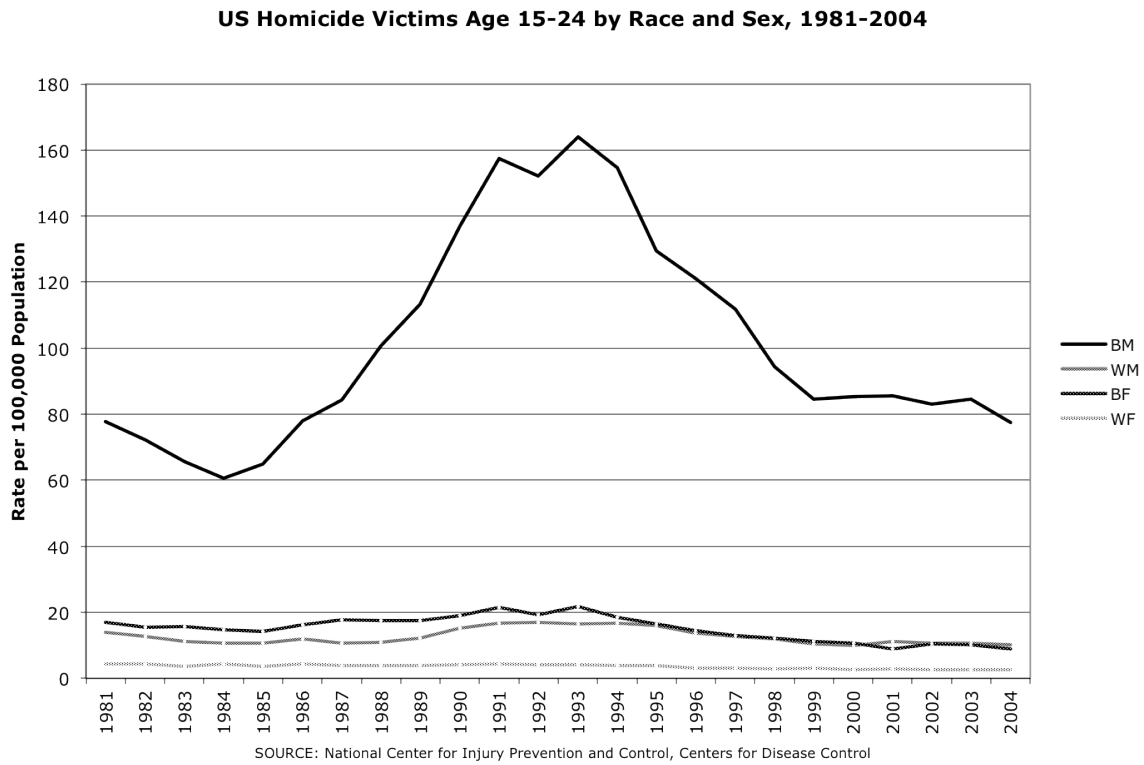


FIGURE 4

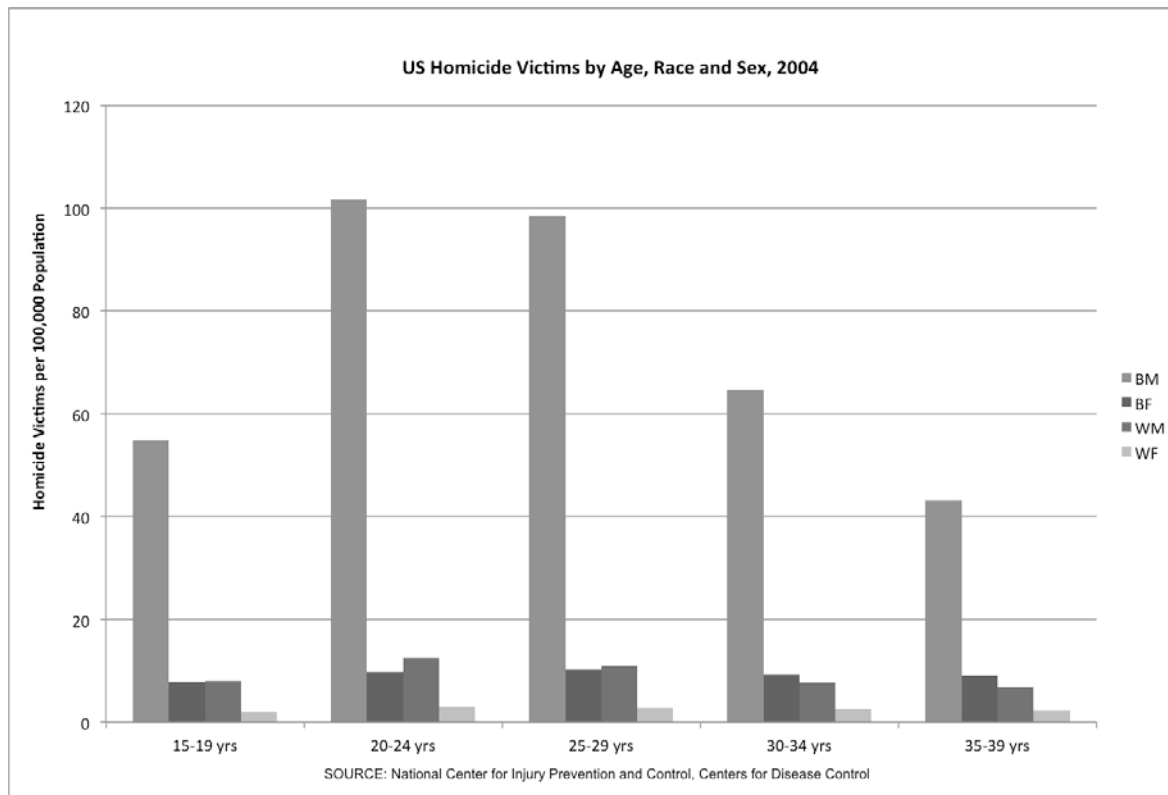


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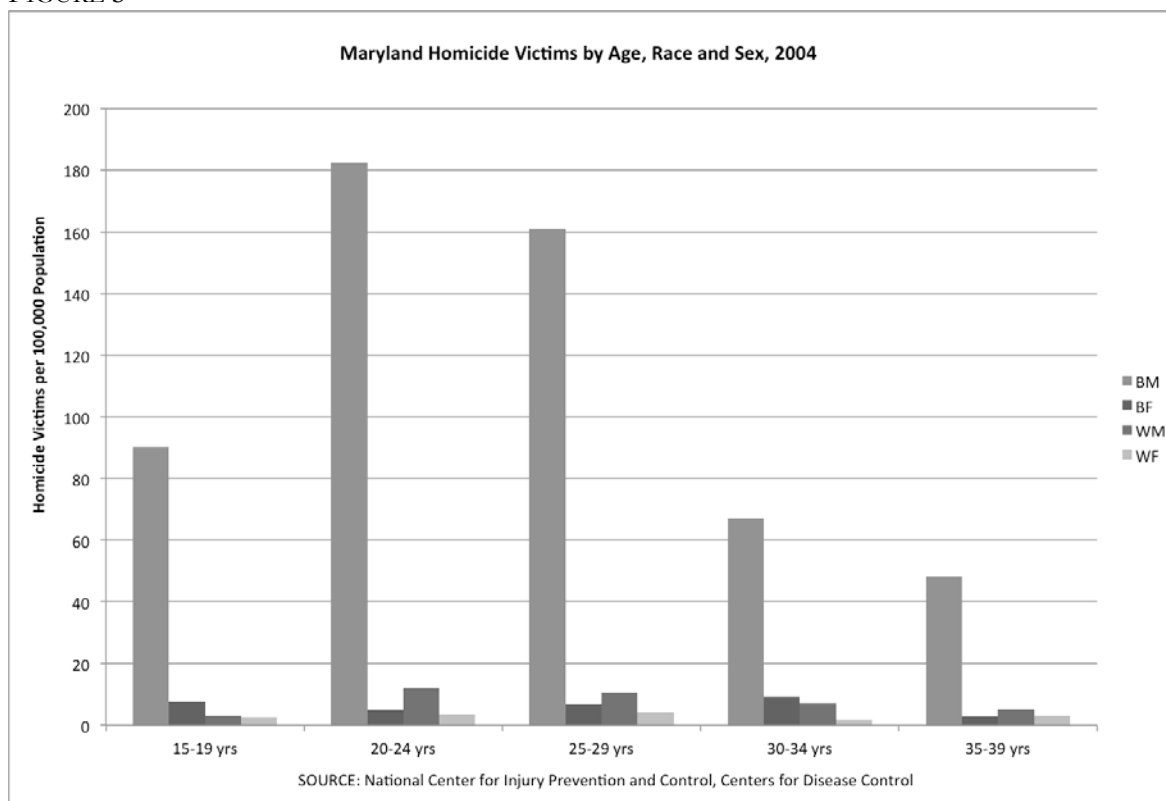


FIGURE 6

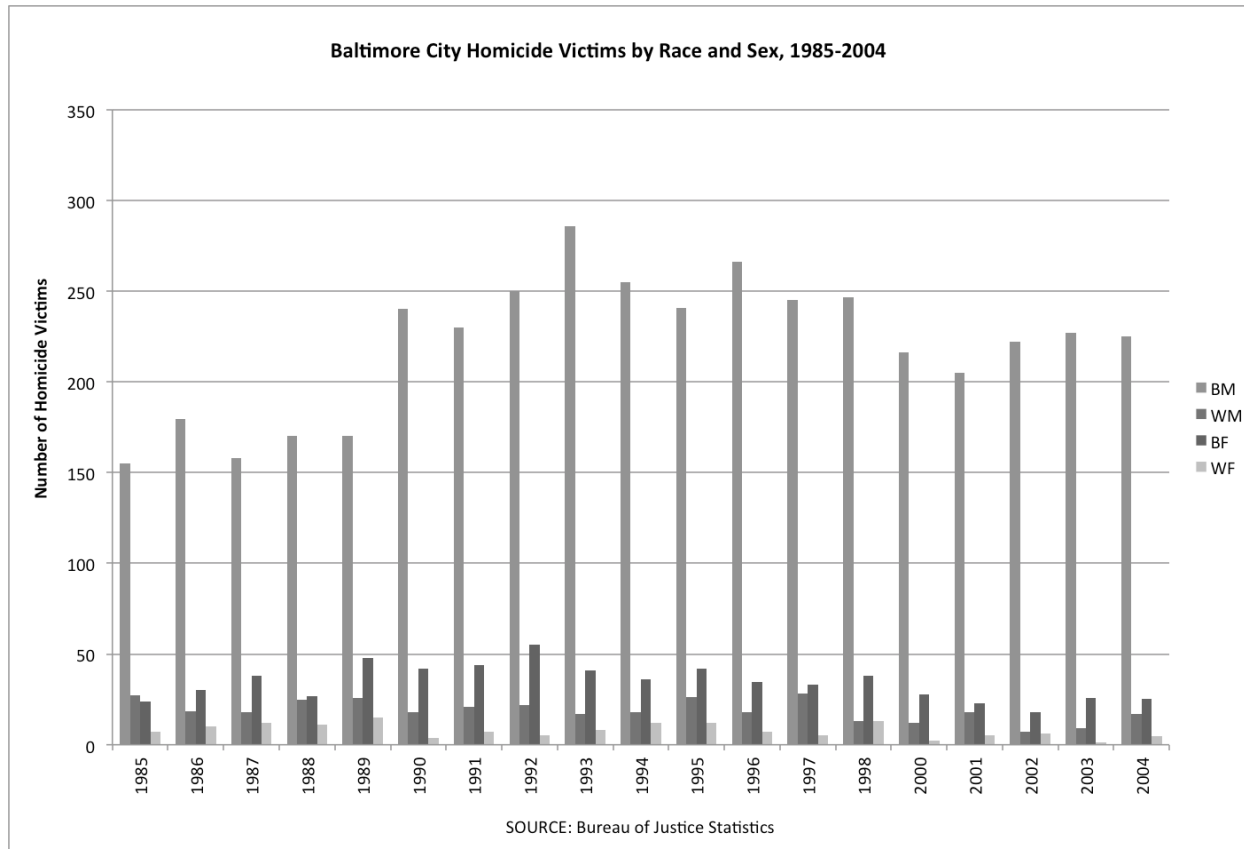


FIGURE 7

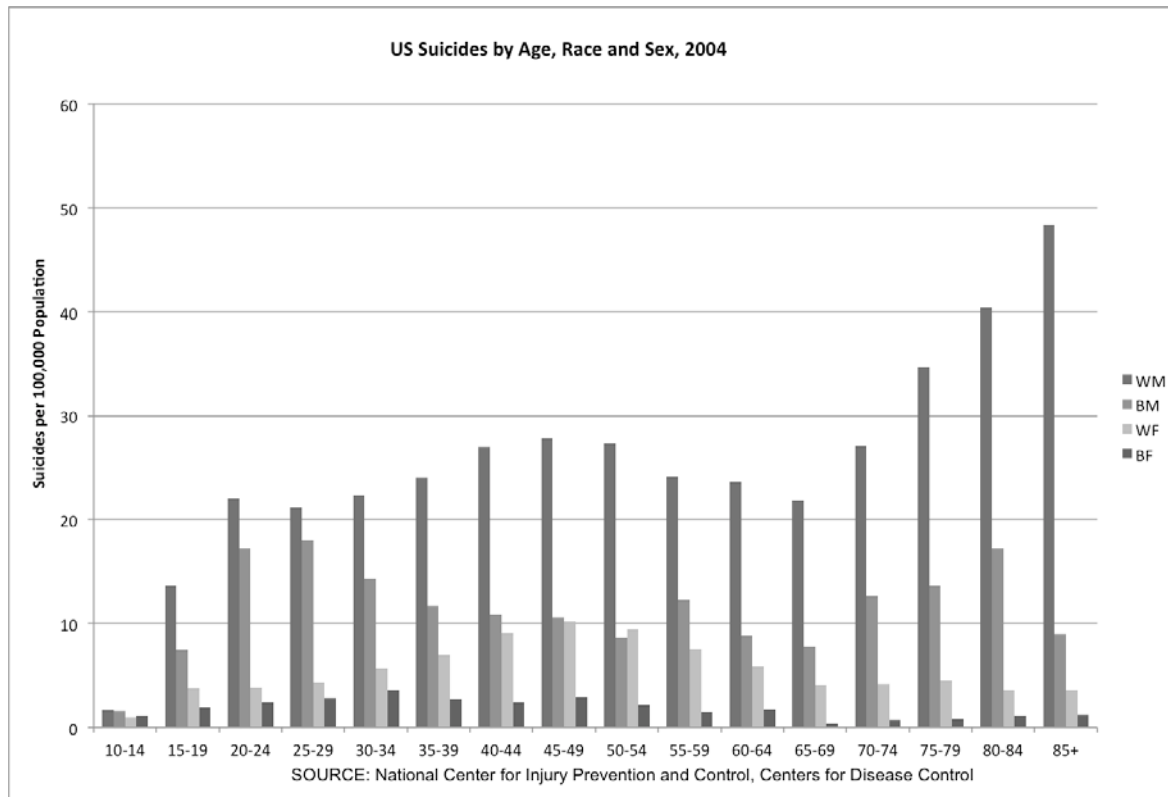


FIGURE 8

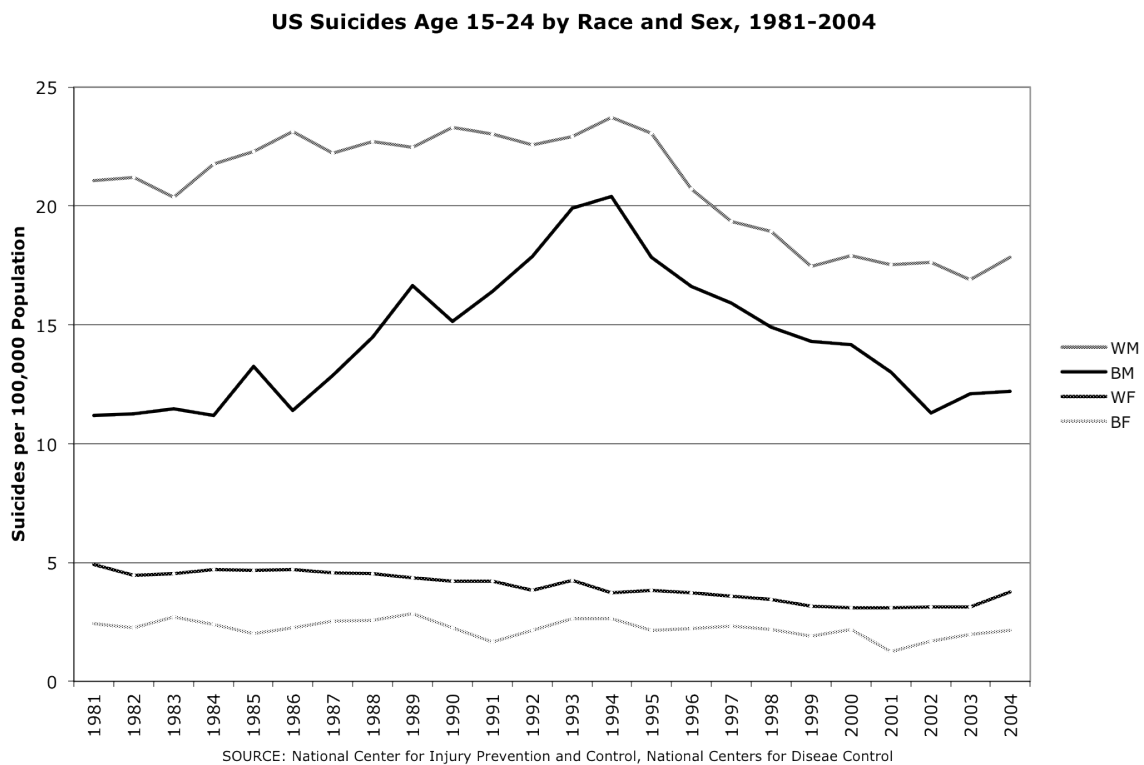


FIGURE 9

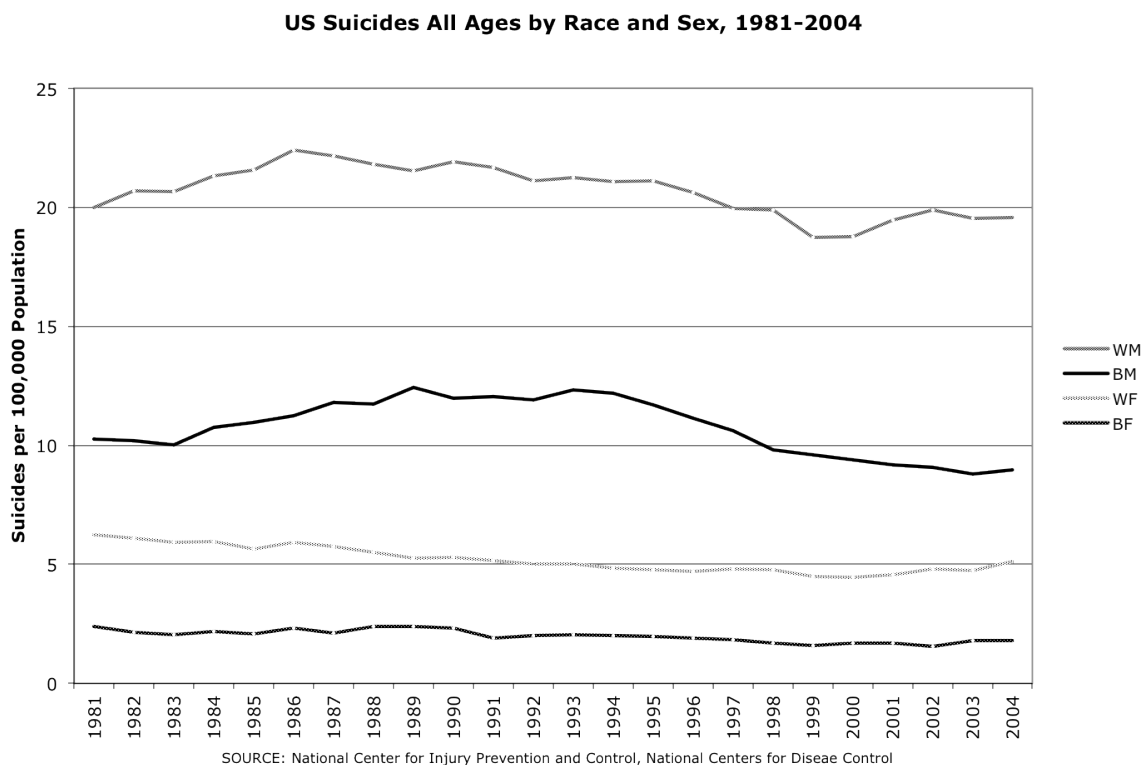


FIGURE 10

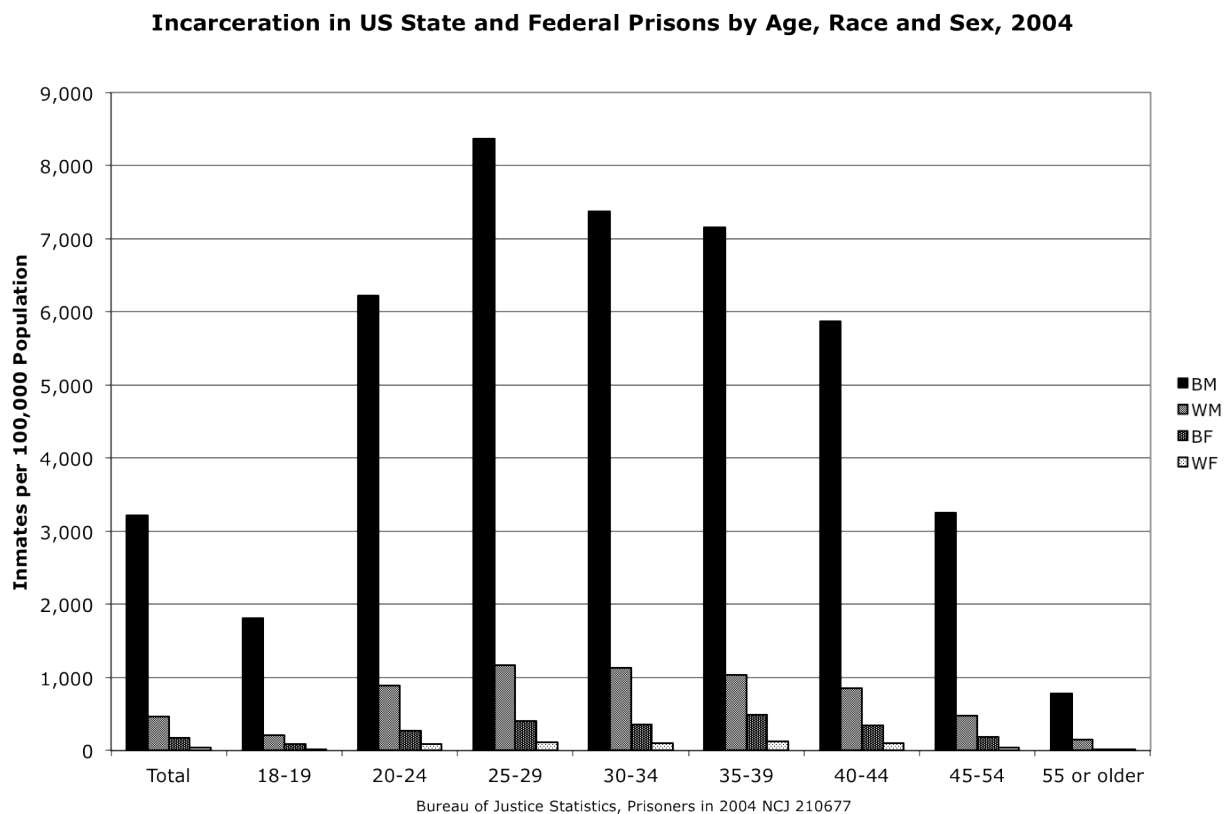


FIGURE 11

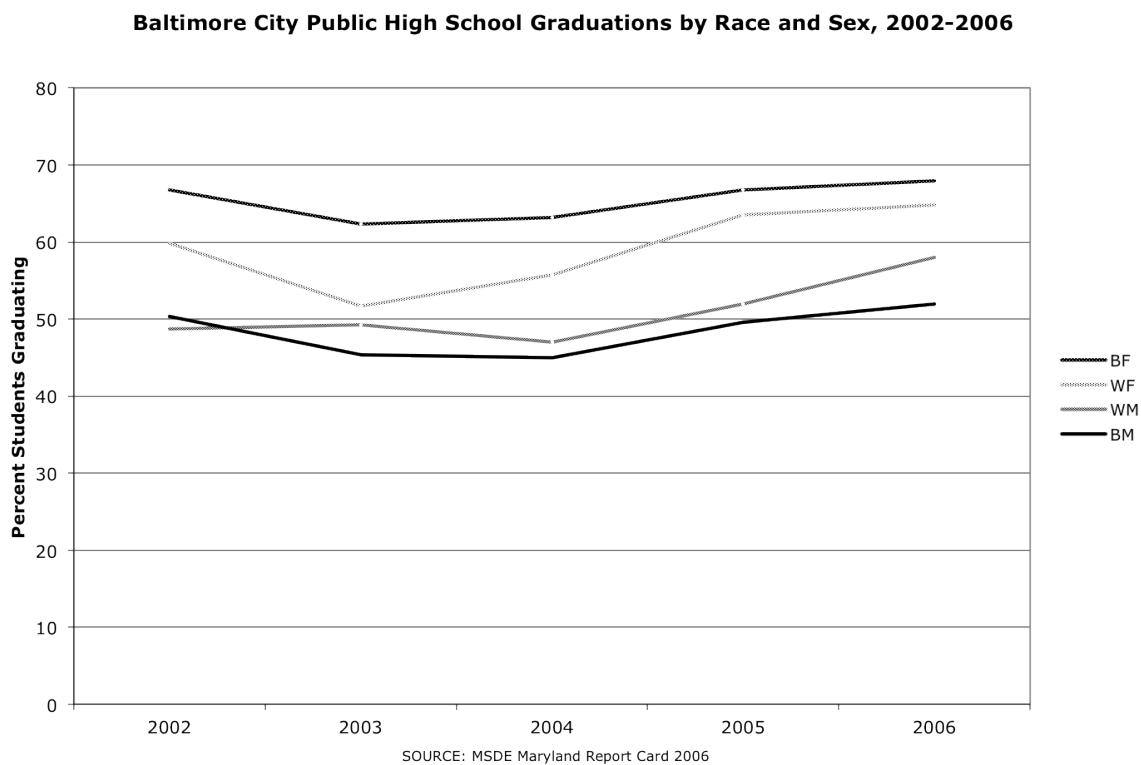


FIGURE 12

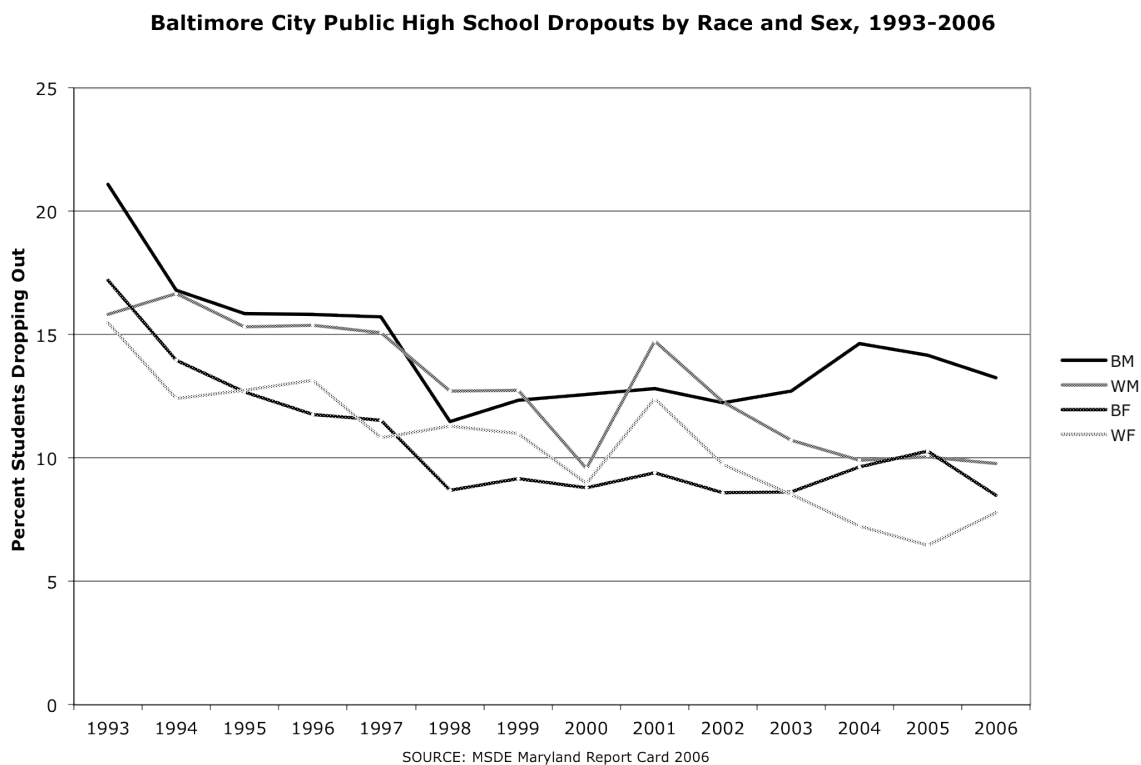
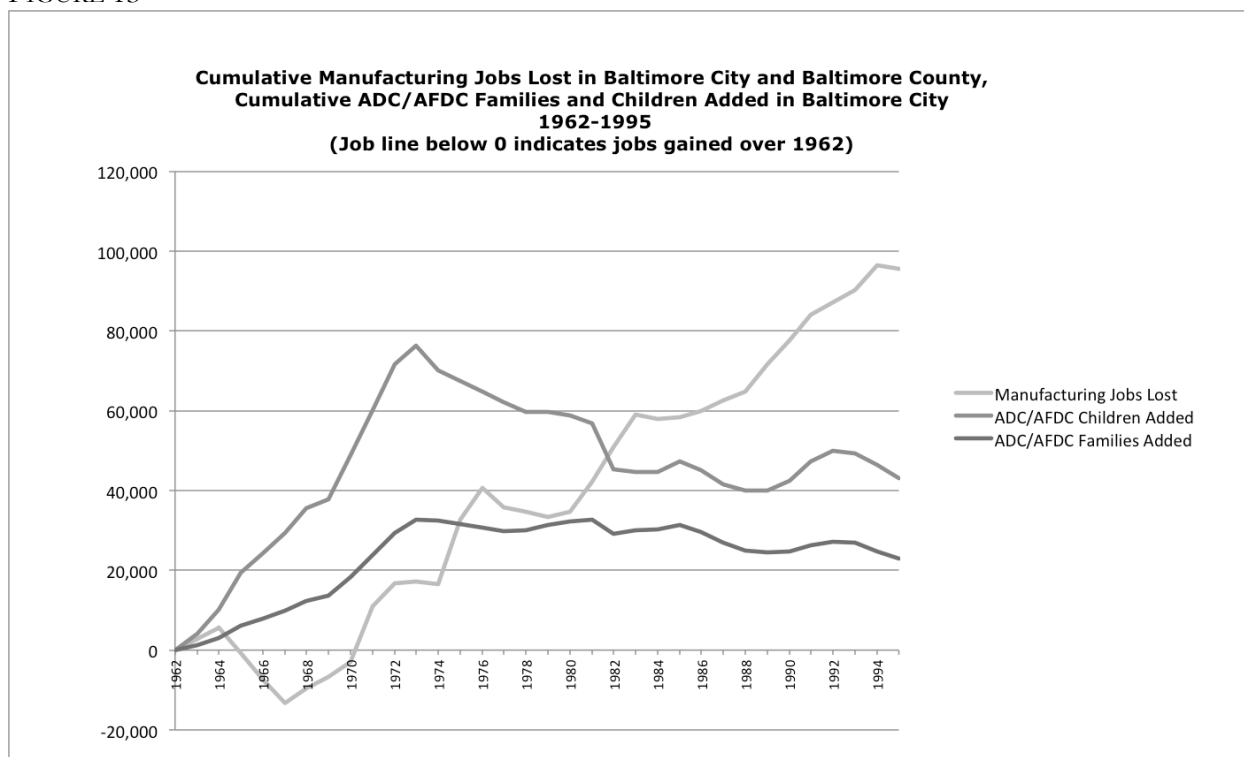


FIGURE 13



Notes about manufacturing job data:

- Source: US Census Bureau, annual reports on County Business Patterns.
- Data are for February of each year.
- Datum was unavailable for 1963. Chart for that year is based on straight-line interpolation of 1962 and 1964 data.

Notes about ADC and AFDC data:

- Source before 1977: annual Maryland Department of Public Welfare Report to the Governor. Source for 1977 and after: monthly Department of Human Resources Social Services Administration Statistical Report.
- Data are for June of each year.
- Data were unavailable for 1971, 1975 and 1976. Chart for these years is based on straight-line interpolation of data points before and after the missing data.
- Datum was unavailable for June 1992. Chart for that month is based on straight-line interpolation of May 1992 and July 1992 data.
- Before 1977, data source did not specifically report the numbers of Baltimore City children and families on ADC/AFDC. Numbers for those years were calculated by multiplying the number of ADC/AFDC children and families reported for all of Maryland by ADC/AFDC expenditures for Baltimore City then dividing by ADC/AFDC expenditures for the state. A limitation of this estimate is that it assumes that the number of children in the average Baltimore City family on ADC was the same as the number of children in the average Maryland family on ADC/AFDC.
- Starting in 1977, data were no longer reported for the number of AFDC families served, but were reported for number of AFDC adults served. Under the theory that "straight" ADC and AFDC programs—as opposed to AFDC with Unemployed Father, which is not tallied here—typically serve one adult per family, these are regarded as reporting the same information.

FIGURE 14



Notes about manufacturing job data:

- Source: US Census Bureau, annual reports on County Business Patterns.
- Data are for February of each year.
- Datum was unavailable for 1963. Chart for that year is based on straight-line interpolation of 1962 and 1964 data.

Notes about ADC and AFDC data:

- Source before 1977: annual Maryland Department of Public Welfare Report to the Governor. Source for 1977 and after: monthly Department of Human Resources Social Services Administration Statistical Report.
- Data are for June of each year.
- Data were unavailable for 1971, 1975 and 1976. Chart for these years is based on straight-line interpolation of data points before and after the missing data.
- Datum was unavailable for June 1992. Chart for that month is based on straight-line interpolation of May 1992 and July 1992 data.
- Before 1977, data source did not specifically report the numbers of Baltimore City children and families on ADC/AFDC. Numbers for those years were calculated by multiplying the number of ADC/AFDC children and families reported for all of Maryland by ADC/AFDC expenditures for Baltimore City then dividing by ADC/AFDC expenditures for the state. A limitation of this estimate is that it assumes that the number of children in the average Baltimore City family on ADC was the same as the number of children in the average Maryland family on ADC/AFDC.
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FIGURE 15

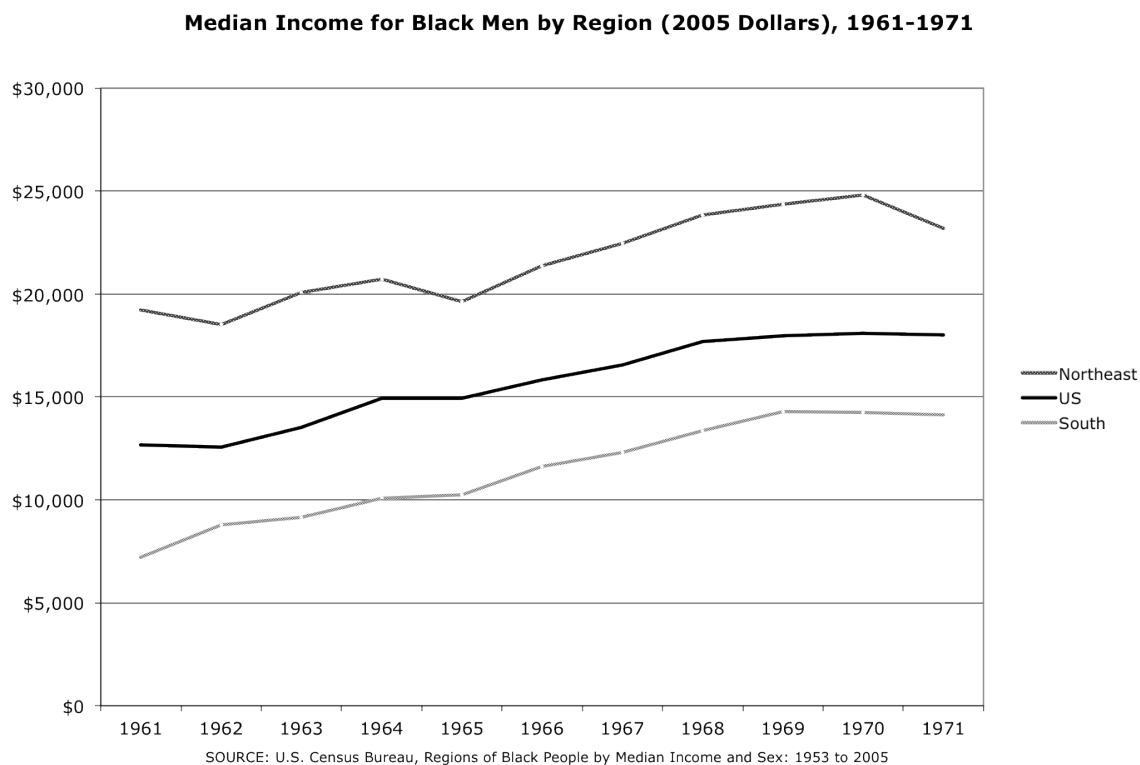


FIGURE 16

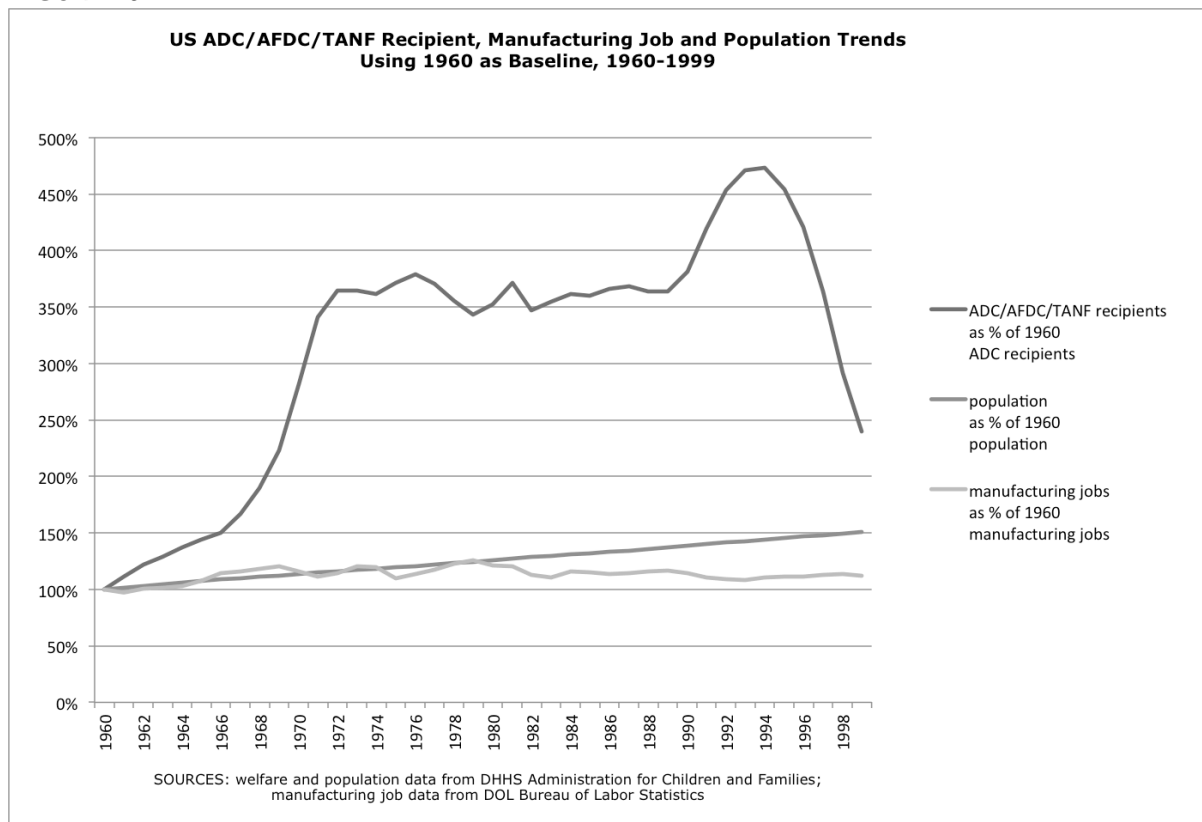


FIGURE 17

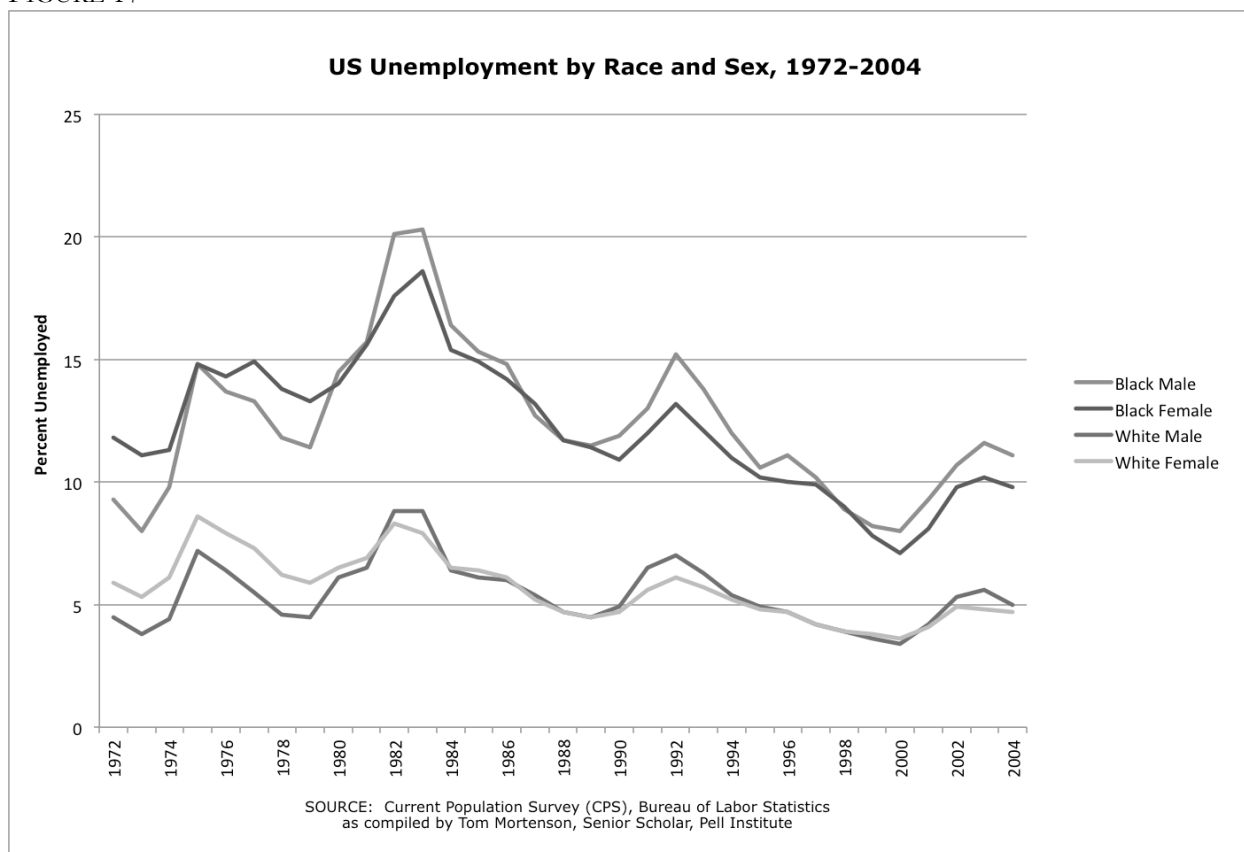
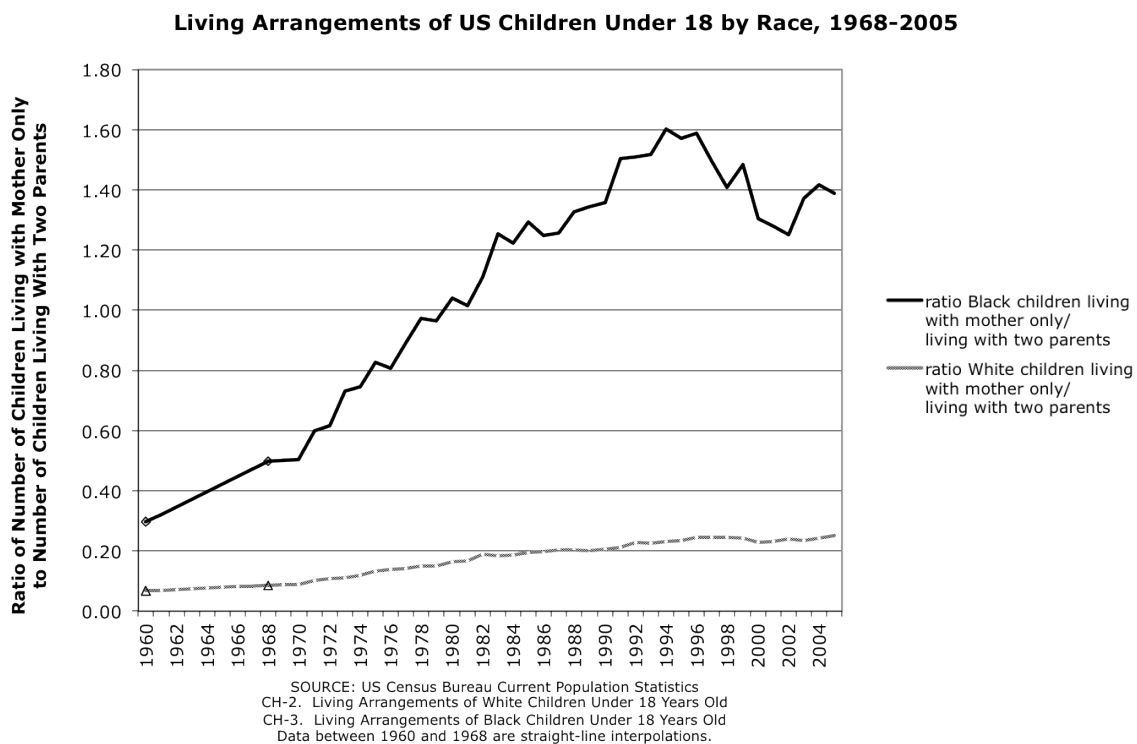


FIGURE 18



APPENDIX B:

COMMONLY ACCEPTED OBJECTS AND ACTIVITIES THAT ONCE WERE THOUGHT UNMANLY

In American football, the **forward pass** was invented precisely because the original running game of football, with its infamous flying wedge, was getting too rough and dangerous. The forward pass was intended to make the game safer but some “purists” derided it as “unmanly.”

- “Football History Was Made Here at SLU,” St. Louis University
<www.slu.edu/publications/gc/v6-6/news_24.shtml>
- “131 Years of Princeton Football,” Princeton University
<www.princeton.edu/football/history.htm>

Though some American football fans thought the forward pass would ruin the game, “public interest in football soared. A game that had been predicated to a great extent on brute strength became a game of **position, balance, speed, mobility and leverage**. It still paid to be strong, but now you had to be more than strong.”

- Telleen, Maurice. “75 Years Ago: Late Autumn/Early Winter 1926.” *The Draft Horse Journal* (Winter 2000-2001)

When the **helmet** first showed up on football fields, Pudge Heffelfinger, Yale’s three-time All American from 1889-1891 said, “None of that sissy stuff for me.”

- Stewart, Bruce K. (Nov/Dec 1995). “American Football.” *American History*, Vol. 30 Issue 5, p. 24.

In 1611 Thomas Coryat, an Englishman, saw **forks** being used in Italy. When he brought them back to England, he was widely ridiculed for feminine airs.

- California Academy of Sciences
<www.calacademy.org/research/anthropology/utensil/forks.htm>
- Ludwig von Mises Institute <www.mises.org/efandi/ch5.asp>

Frederick William, an 18th-century Prussian king and father of Frederick the Great, beat his son for wearing **gloves** in cold weather because it was “an effeminate behavior, worthy only of a Frenchman.”

- Derksen, Mary Lou. “Frederick the Great (1712-1786)”
<www.suite101.com/article.cfm/childhoods_famous_people/22805>

Wristwatches at first were considered effeminate because “real men” carried pocket watches. When World War I fighter pilots adopted them for tactical reasons, they became acceptably masculine.

- Brink, Bob (May 2000). “The Art and History of Collectible Watches,” *Palm Beach Illustrated Magazine*, May 2000.

In ancient Greece, using **hot water** was considered effeminate; a man’s bath typically was a quick bucket of cold water dumped on his head.

- “The History of Plumbing” <www.theplumber.com/greek.html>

Up through the Civil War, **cigarettes** were considered unmanly because men smoked only pipes and cigars.

- The History Channel. “Empires of Industry Classroom Study Guide”
<www.historychannel.com/classroom/admin/study_guide/archives/thc_guide.0092.html>
- “Tips for Tobacco Users” [for Civil War Re- enactors]
<www.shasta.com/suesgoodco/newcivilians/advice/tobacco.htm>

Soap and clean underwear

- Arkansas State University <www.clt.astate.edu/rcarlton/PCH09.htm>

Umbrellas

- Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel Online <www.jsonline.com/news/glimpse/glimpseadd6.asp>

Drinking cups

- Grow, Malcolm C. (1918). *Surgeon Grow: An American in the Russian Fighting*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes. <www.vlib.us/medical/russdoc/Rdoc05.htm>

Long sleeves

- Eason, James. University of Chicago class notes <penelope.uchicago.edu/ross/ross216.html>

Open collars revealing the chest

- Hurstwic, a living history society in New England
<www.valhs.org/history/articles/daily_living/text/clothing.htm>

APPENDIX C: STUDENT BILL OF RIGHTS

Student Bill of Rights

- All people in a school have a right to come to school to learn without being disturbed.
- All people have a right to come to school and to be in school without being afraid.
- All people have a right to be taught well and to have good learning experiences.
- All people have a right to try to participate in developing the rules that affect them.
- All people have a right to expect authorities to protect these rights, regardless of ethnicity, race, or gender.

“This Bill-of-Rights approach to discipline is intended to counter the belief among many Black male students that they are treated unfairly in school.”

Source: Brown, Lionel (2004, Winter). “America’s Black Male: Disadvantaged from Birth to Death.” *University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education Perspectives on Urban Education*, 3(2).

APPENDIX D: “MEN ARE TALKING”

Event Program

Participant Evaluation

Mr. Manners' Principles of Etiquette

When attending a function whose purpose is to address the frequent complaint that "men don't talk," several helpful thoughts should be kept in mind.

1. Just as there are no police officers patrolling restaurants to ensure that diners do not burp aloud and disrupt the pleasure of others, there are no law enforcement officers at "Men Are Talking." We entrust the observation of the program's simple rules of etiquette entirely and exclusively to Peer Pressure.
2. If someone sitting near you perpetrates a violation of these simple rules of etiquette, please feel fully authorized and heartily encouraged to fix that scalding hot soul with an icy and reproachful glare, just as you might do to a person who creates an unappetizing disturbance during a special dinner at To Pepe's.
3. Recognize and be tolerant of the fact that the "Men Are Talking" program will frequently be dealing in generalities.
4. Recognize that by virtue of your very attendance at "Men Are Talking" you are probably atypical and not included in the broad generalities being propounded. Take nothing personally. The fact that Mr. Manners does not habitually make rude comments to women, for instance, should not inspire Mr. Manners to quarrel with women who express hurt, anger and disappointment about the men who do.
5. Strive to focus your attention not on that with which you may disagree, but on that which you may not have heard before expressed.
6. Because we wish to remedy whatever factors cause the frequent observation that "men don't talk," it will be considered very poor form to act in even the keenest, finest way which might at all intimidate a speaker from continuing, or which tends to diminish what a previous speaker has said. Specifically, these keen, tiny acts include, but are not limited to, smirking, laughing, giggling, gasping, whispering, shaking the head and rolling the eyes.
7. Similarly, because the absence of overt approval could be excruciatingly chilling to a speaker who has witnessed overt approval for a previous speaker, etiquette at "Men Are Talking" requires that there be no expressions of agreement — no applause, nodding, clenching of fists accompanied by gasps of "yes!", thumbs up signs or similar expressions of appreciation.
8. An appropriate acknowledgment of each and every speaker, regardless of how much one might agree or disagree with what he has said, is a simple "thank you."

**Baltimore
Commission
for Men**

PO Box 41146
Baltimore, Maryland 21203
301 244-0166

Men Are Talking
presented by the
Greater Baltimore Commission for Men

Topic #1

How do American men feel about American Women in 1991?

May 16, 1991
Morgan State University

Hors d'oeuvres for Thought

"When a person speaks their truth, there are growing pains. As men speak their truth, there will be problems for some women. For others this will be a welcome relief, because when a person speaks their truth, the potential for intimacy becomes so much greater."

Jean Shinoda Bolen, M.D.
psychiatrist
author of the bestseller *Gods in Everyman*

"Psychologically speaking, nine out of 10 women will take nine out of 10 men in a fight to the finish, not with direct, head-on aggression, but with guilt, shame and blame. These are the weapons women were conditioned to use, because they've been assigned the role of victim for so long. As men we need to learn how not to be vulnerable to women when we shouldn't be.... Women must hear what it means for men to have hardened themselves and to live a life of numbness for the sake of society... if women don't understand this, they'll always be blaming us."

Sam Keen
philosopher
author of *Faces of the Enemy*

"[Women] can be judgmental about masculine traits that are merely different or unexpected."

"Conscious fighting is a great help in relationships between men and women."

"A good fight gets things clear, and I think women long to fight and be with men who know how to fight well."

"A contemporary man often assumes that a woman knows more about a relationship than he does, allows a woman's moods to run the house, assumes that when she attacks him, she is doing it 'for his own good.' Many marriages are lost that way."

Robert Bly
poet
author of the bestseller *Iron John*

Hors d'œuvres for Thought (*cont'd*)

"American marriages are the saddest in the whole world, because the man does all his fighting at the office."

Karl Jung
psychiatrist
as quoted by Robert Lilly in *Love John*

In a study of distressed and non-distressed couples, distressed wives were more likely to display negative behavior and were more likely to evaluate their partners' neutral comments as negative than were all other spouses.

"Exploring the Interface Between Perception and Behavior:
An Analysis of Marital Interactions in Distressed and
Nondistressed Couples"
Notarius, Benson, Sloane, Varzetti, Horneyak (1988)

"[E]xpressive displays by boys are believed more likely to lead to negative consequences than the same displays by girls. This social learning is thought to result in males who have learned to inhibit overt emotional reactions and females who have been encouraged in the expression of emotion."

"Emotional Expression in Husbands and Wives"
Notarius & Johnson (1982)

"As listeners, wives tended to display more negative nonverbal behavior than their husbands. Wives were negative listeners 11% of the time, compared to their husbands' 3%."

"[I]t was quite apparent that the wives were much more emotionally expressive, particularly of negative feelings, than were the husbands."

- "Negative face cues" include "frown, sneer, fear, crying, angry face or disgust."
- "Negative voice cues" are "cold, tense, fearful, impatient, whining, sarcastic, blaming, angry, hurt, mocking or depressed."
- "Negative body position cues" are "arms akimbo (with hands on hips), tense neck or hands, maladaptive, pointing, jabbing or slapping with hand."

"Emotional Expression in Husbands and Wives"
Notarius & Johnson (1982)

It is "reasonable to focus on a mutual responsibility for interactional outcomes. To the extent that wives' negativity encourages husbands' withdrawal and to the extent that husbands' withdrawal fosters wives' negativity, the marital system will experience distress."

"Exploring the Interface Between Perception and Behavior:
An Analysis of Marital Interactions in Distressed and
Nondistressed Couples"
Notarius, Benson, Sloane, Varzetti, Horneyak (1988)

"When I started researching this book, I was prepared to rediscover the old saw that conventional femininity is nurturing and passive and that masculinity is self-serving, egotistical, and unfeeling. But I did not find this. One of my findings here is that manhood ideologies always include a criterion of selfless generosity, even to the point of sacrifice. Again and again we find that 'real' men are those who give more than they take: they serve others. . . . Men nurture their society by shedding their blood, their sweat, and their semen, by bringing home food (or both child and mother, by producing children, and by dying if necessary, in faraway places to provide a safe haven for their people. This, too, is nurturing in the sense of endowing or increasing. However, the necessary personal qualities for this male contribution are paradoxically the exact opposite of what we Westerners normally consider the nurturing personality."

David Glusac
author

Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity

Format and Procedure

Energy, not Anger
Light, not Heat
Sincerity, not Sarcasm

The Greater Baltimore Commission for Men (GBCM) has initiated the "Men Are Talking" series of public forums because one of women's chief complaints about men is that men don't talk, and because problems between men and women often manifest themselves in larger, societal malaises.

GBCM believes that one of the reasons some men have trouble talking is that some women have trouble listening. Perhaps one reason for this phenomenon is that some or many women feel continually threatened and are therefore highly motivated to defend themselves — even when no threat is intended. Another possible explanation is that some or many women know that men have legitimate points to make, the general recognition and acceptance of which would require significant changes in parts of the inter-gender status quo not necessarily men as eligible for modification.

We intend to begin breaking the cycle of not talking/not listening by creating an atmosphere in which men can calmly and safely say what's on their minds without fear of being attacked or ridiculed, and in which women can listen without fear that just listening signifies their acceptance of what has been said.

After each man talks, we'll ask a woman to volunteer to say what she heard — not to judge it, agree with it or disagree with it, but just to say what she heard. After she's finished, the man whose comments she has volunteered to re-state will then privately write a number from 1 to 10 to rate how well he thinks he was heard. At the end of the evening we'll compile the ratings and announce only the average score. We hope that the averages will get better and better over the course of future "Men Are Talking" forums.

Depending on our success tonight, future forums may include an exchange of views, including women speaking to men. This evening, however, is devoted to helping men talk and helping women listen.

Greater Baltimore
**Commission
for Men**

PO Box 41146
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MEN ARE TALKING

“How Do American Men Feel About American Women in 1991?”

Evaluation Results

On all numerical scales 1 is the poorest rating; 10 is the best.

Overall, how satisfied were you with this evening's event?

average response: 7.85

average response from men: 8.06

average response from women: 7.80

What did you like most?

F: the most personal stories and the re-iteration by women that wasn't judgmental

F: feelings being shared openly

M: some interesting things said

M: open dialogue

M: listening to the men speakers and realizing how much we had in common

M: format. unique.

F: hearing the different topics about how men feel about women

F: men were focused. little hostility; I thought there would be more. I was moved and encouraged by men sharing hopes and fears.

F: the men who spoke were quite eloquent and did not indulge in hostile behavior (which at times may have been appropriate!)

F: many conversations

F: I feel the men really said things that were on their minds

F: hearing the stories

F: listening to men be willing to be vulnerable

M: men got a chance to deal with themselves. I think that it is very important that women are encouraged to come

F: I liked hearing men's honest thoughts and feelings, whether “good” or “bad” about women

F: that both men and women were talking and both were listening

M: the exchange of ideas

F: most of all I liked the men talking about how they felt about the women of today. Their emotions and expression were great.

F: the diversity of people present

F: structured format

M: the format was good; the people were good

What did you dislike most?

M: nothing

M: should have started the speakers earlier

F: people who didn't stick to topic; women who advised and instructed instead of merely reflecting

F: one of the men's hurt about his mom and not being able to release his pain; he has a natural frown on his face from so much hurt

M: I didn't strongly dislike anything, but not enough interaction with each other

?: no time for other than the main program

F: having to get to a mike, too intimidating for us shy folks; the overgeneralized nature of the topic

F: not much

M: I would have liked to have seen a large crowd

F: that some people were passing judgements

M: I disliked the fact that this was only the first meeting; men should have had something like this long ago

F: moderator

F: I felt a lot of anger and hurt and problems that may need to be presented in another arena

F: the “preachy” sort of stories (“shoulds”) and replies and that \$5 was charged, especially since it wasn't mentioned in the Chronicle article; it's rather a lot to me

F: not enough African-American male attendance

M: some fairly dead time

How helpful were the “Hors d’oeuvres for Thought”?

average response: 7.93

average response from men: 8.25

average response from women: 7.86

How helpful were “Mr. Manners’ Principles of Etiquette”?

average response: 7.60

average response from men: 7.57

average response from women: 7.65

Was it helpful to you that we established the principle that no one should argue or criticize and that just listening would not signify acceptance of what was being said?

average response: 8.34

average response from men: 8.69

average response from women: 8.14

What would you have changed about this event?

F: perhaps more “calls” from the moderator about the judgmental/preachy talks by men and women

F: I would give some time to allowing the audience to answer/respond spontaneously; more interactions between the sexes

F: more people and more time (so people get comfortable enough to eventually open up)

M: more exercises to get people to open up may have been more helpful

F: nothing

M: Mr. Manners’ Principles of Etiquette may have prevented some interesting interchanges; larger turnout might have helped

F: not a thing

F: seating arrangements

F: more participation, more current topic concerning male and female relationships

F: cut off the “brick” part sooner

M: the seating was distancing; a semicircle would be better

F: nothing

F: I would have arranged the room in a more intimate setting (circle? casual?)

F: nothing much; arrange chairs in circle so we’re not looking at one another’s backs

M: I would have allowed the women to speak

What was most interesting or noteworthy about this event?

M: format

F: the sharing and conversation between men and women

F: the whole concept; great that the mayor showed up

F: men talking! also the naked honesty and pain being expressed

F: learning how men feel

M: 50/50 black/white mix

F: my own personal reactions, not shared

M: women seemed to enjoy it as much as men

F: the number of men who shared

F: the various responses of the men; their obvious need to share their feelings/thoughts; the problem as I see it is the lack of communication between the sexes; if this forum is to help, we need to promote the exchange

F: how hurt and angry some men are and some of the underlying reasons

F: how verbal, how emotive many men can be (and how good the retelling and elaborations by women were)

F: it gave me an opportunity to hear a man’s point of view on women and express his feelings

M: meeting and hearing different people

How would you rate the convenience and availability of parking for this building?

average response: 9.00

Asked only of the men who spoke on the topic “How do American Men Feel About American Women in 1991?”: How well did the woman who spoke after you re-state what you had said?

average response: 8.20

APPENDIX E: EMAIL CORRESPONDENCE WITH PETER BELL

To: Peter Bell
Date: Fri, 12 Jan 2007 13:41:04 -0500
Subject: drug treatment dealing with men's gender issues

Hello, Mr. Bell.

Exactly a year ago today I had the pleasure of attending your presentation in Baltimore on cultural sensitivity in substance abuse treatment.

I am writing a policy paper in which I am recommending that, along with sensitivity to issues of race and to issues of being female, it would be good to attend also to the issues of being male -- especially in light of the cultural and societal definitions and expectation men feel pressured to measure up to.

I made notes during your presentation on how what you were saying about cultural sensitivity might be applied to men. Among those notes are:

- the need for a feeling of worth (if a man has little or no money, he will often feel worthless)
- a crash course in maturation (it is often said that women raise their daughters and love their sons)
- peer pressure (men are required to "prove" their masculinity, toughness and fearlessness)
- low academic achievement (the great majority of high school dropouts are male)
- higher tolerance for emotional pain (men don't cry; showing emotions is unmanly)
- different styles of humor (men's jokes, regardless of race, are often different from women's)
- repairing familial relations (men are often isolated and alienated from their children)
- developing a relationship with a Higher Power (men attend church much less than women do)
- the need to reject that claim that "I have no feelings about being Black" (most men would say they have no feelings, especially not unhappy feelings, about being male)
- dealing with racial stereotypes (men face many negative stereotypes about being male).

I will not quote you in my paper unless you give me specific permission to do so, but I wonder if you think that the idea of developing substance abuse treatment specifically around male cultural issues might have merit.

= = =

From: "Peter Bell" <pbell51@hotmail.com>
Subject: RE: drug treatment dealing with men's gender issues
Date: Fri, 02 Feb 2007 15:40:51 -0600

You drew some very interesting parallels based on my materials. The difficulty you may run into is that there is not a perceived need for specialized treatment focusing on white men. I would suggest that you consider developing your materials for use in a "men's group" that could take place in a mainstream treatment program. Finally feel free to quote me in your paper. Good luck.

= = =

To: "Peter Bell" <pbell51@hotmail.com>
Subject: RE: drug treatment dealing with men's gender issues
Date: Fri, 2 Feb 2007 17:18:20 -0500

Thank you, Mr. Bell. I very much appreciate your reply.

It is mostly African-American men that I am thinking of. My paper is being entered into an urban policy competition specifically for Baltimore, which as you know is a majority African-American city. Along with being aware of and sensitive to racial issues facing African-American men my paper will suggest that it will be good also to be aware of and sensitive to gender issues facing African-American men. We have drug treatment that is aware of and sensitive to African-American women's gender issues and I will suggest that, though they are not often considered and discussed, there are powerful gender issues also facing African-American men that we would do well to address. A man without money, for instance, is often in a very different situation with different supports and expectations than a woman without money, and men are often driven by forces women are not.

I would love to be able to say that you think this idea is worth testing and researching. May I?

= = =

Date: Fri, 02 Feb 2007 16:34:54 -0600
From: Peter Bell
Subject: RE: drug treatment dealing with men's gender issues

Yes.